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ABSTRACT

In October 1972, the annual Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe debate devoted to cultural and educational questions included the reports presented in this account. They are titled: Present Trends in Higher Education Reform and Further Prospects With a View to Permanent Education, by J. Capelle; Towards a European Policy in Higher Education by L. Toncic-Sorinj; Development of Higher Education Structures in Europe by W. Taylor; Student Unrest and Student Participation by B. E. Ingelmark; Study Reform and Permanent Education by E. A. van Trotsenburg; and Post-School, Recurrent and Higher Education--Proposals for an Overall Reform by F. Edding. The resolution concerning present trends in higher education reform and further prospects with a view to permanent education that was passed at the assembly is also included. (PG)

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Second Part

HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM AND THE CONCEPT OF PERMANENT EDUCATION

Giving effect to Resolution 463 (1970) of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, the Committee on Culture and Education has over the last few years pursued its development studies for permanent education, and the Symposium held at Vienna on the 30th June to 1st July therefore concerned itself with the problems of the reform of higher education and particularly its role in the development of permanent education.

Lectures and discussions dealt with the following four subjects: "Development of higher education structures in Europe", by Professor W. Taylor, Bristol; "Student unrest and student participation", by Professor B. E. Ingelmark, Gothenburg; "Study reform and permanent education", by Professor E. A. van Trotsenburg, Klagenfurt; "Post-school, recurrent and higher education - Proposals for an overall reform", by Professor F. Edding, Berlin.

In the October 1972 annual Consultative Assembly debate devoted to cultural and educational questions, Rector J. Capelle, Chairman and Rapporteur of the Committee on Culture and Education, discussed the four subjects of the Vienna Symposium and, in presenting his report on "Present trends in higher education reform and further prospects, with a view to permanent education", informed the Assembly of the results of this Symposium.

After the debate, the Assembly adopted the Resolution reprinted below, which is followed by the report of Mr. Capelle, the speech of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, Mr. L. Toncic-Sorinj, and the four lectures given at the Vienna Symposium.

HE 005 707

RESOLUTION 533 (1972)

on present trends in higher education reform and further prospects, with a view to permanent education

The Assembly,

— Recalling its Recommendation 611 (1970) and its Resolution 463 (1970), on permanent education in Europe;

— Having regard to the report by its Committee on Culture and Education on present trends in higher educational reform and further prospects, with a view to permanent education, and taking note of the results of the Symposium on Higher Education, held in Vienna (Austria) on 30 June and 1 July 1972, in pursuance of the above resolution;

— Noting that the purpose of this Symposium was to study from the standpoint of political responsibility, problems raised by the organisation of higher education in a post-industrial society;

— Believing that, at a time when a concern for living standards is accompanied, and indeed being dominated, by a concern for the quality of life, higher education, in its various forms, should be made available to all who aspire to it and are capable of benefiting from it;

— Believing, in this context, that higher education should be overhauled as regards its content and methods, as well as its diploma-awarding system, so that it may be used as a means of obtaining, revising and extending knowledge;

— Believing that a coherent structure needs to be

established for permanent education, which covers the entire range of educational facilities from an individual's early childhood to the latter part of his working life ;

— Believing that, within such a structure, the education provided by universities at the usual studying age becomes a period of initial education, to be co-ordinated with the new subsequent period, that of continued or recurrent education, during which the occupational sphere and educational establishments should combine their efforts so as to ensure maximum individual and social effectiveness for higher education ;

— Noting that the Vienna Symposium was concerned with the following themes on which problems regarding the reform of higher education in Europe are mainly centred :

- Development of higher education structures ;
- Student participation and career opportunities ;
- Harmonisation of initial education and recurrent education ;
- The conditions for recurrent education at a higher level,

— Calls on the Conference of European Ministers of Education and the Council for Cultural Co-operation to be guided by the principles and measures set out in the report of its Committee on Culture and Education, in their efforts to work out a reform of higher education in a context of permanent education to be proposed to the States which are parties to the European Cultural Convention.

PRESENT TRENDS IN HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM AND FURTHER PROSPECTS WITH A VIEW TO PERMANENT EDUCATION

by Rector J. CAPELLE,
Chairman of the Committee on Culture
and Education

I. DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION STRUCTURES

Diversification of higher education

"Higher education" is taken to mean all education following the completion of secondary education, so that those wishing to undergo higher education have generally completed successfully a course of secondary education. Secondary studies are themselves understood here in the broadest sense, covering not only the general studies which used to make up the traditional education formerly known as secondary, but also technical studies involving a general training programme of a level comparable with that of traditional secondary education.

Formerly, it was only those who had successfully completed a course of general training who were destined for university education, while nowadays those who have successfully completed a course of technical or even specialist studies are similarly entitled to access to universities.

It is not the intention here to look at the various kinds of higher education institutions existing in Europe, from country to country. It is interesting however, to note, as a felicitous heritage from the universal character of the earliest universities in Christian Europe, which is that the level demanded for admission to contemporary Europe's national universities is appreciably the same. Moreover, it is to be noted, as a situation common to all the countries, that higher education is required more and more for professional purposes, and that the diversification of occupations produces a diversification of the institutions and sections making them up. Needless to say, this practical trend must not militate against the disinterested nature — and thence the all-round nature, when it comes to application — of the general education peculiar to the university.

After brief analysis, it is possible to distinguish between two kinds of higher education : *short-cycle educational courses*, in which specialisation is introduced immediately, and *long-cycle educational courses*, generally consisting ot two successive stages : one in which the aim is to extend general knowledge, so as to provide a solid basis for the second, which is concerned with the acquisition of an advanced professional qualification.

Even if European universities do not cover the same field in the training of senior executives and participation in scientific research, they have something in common, namely that they are concerned solely, or at least predominantly, with long-cycle courses of higher education.

Some long-cycle educational courses may be available in non-university institutions whose prestige is possibly equal or even superior to that of the university : this is the case in France, for instance, with the "Grandes Ecoles", which provide advanced training for engineers, senior civil servants and senior officials of universities and other institutions. The converse is also true, however, in certain countries where university-level technical education is accorded less esteem than legal studies or the humanities.

It sometimes happens too that short-cycle educational courses are attached to universities, although the are of an immediately practical nature and concerned with application rather than research, and so should not normally find their place in a university setting. This is the case with institutes in France where officials of the "technicien supérieur" level receive their training, which have the designation "Instituts universitaires de Technologie". These establishments, where the period of studies is two years following the baccalauréat, are at times in an ambiguous position vis-à-vis their ultimate purpose, because they are a part of the university, particularly when the majority of the staff teaching in them belong to the university staff or intend to seek a university Chair ; it sometimes happens that students at such establishments and their teachers, spurred on by an entirely pardonable ambition, being more concerned with obtaining university prestige than with trying to find the best answer to the requirements of industrial production, bring pressure to bear so that the teaching provided by the IUTs shall be recognised as the equivalent of the basic course in the university, so that the next stage is generally the more advanced university courses. The result of this polarisation is that only the less able or less ambitious students effect studies that are directed towards the prime aim of the institute

It appears perhaps inadmissible that short-cycle courses of higher education should provide preparation for technical training in a professional specialisation and at the same time provide the basic scientific education which constitutes the stage preceding university instruction at a more advanced level. Professor Taylor indicated in his lecture that the Carnegie Commission had recently urged a change of course in the United States, whereby the short-cycle institutions should find their own mission and no longer act as streaming and sifting mechanisms for the university proper. He also pointed out, however, that the opportunity of transferring from short-programme courses to long-programme courses, if not taken immediately during the initial training periods, is liable not to present itself again so readily given present resources and attitudes : "The claim that a post-secondary course in a short-cycle institution, followed by a period of employment and subsequent opportunities for further study, still offers a route to the top, will have to be proved and tested before it is acceptable to secondary school leavers and their parents."

A wide range of short-cycle higher education establishments has grown up in an attempt to cater for the wide range of professional requirements, most being separate from the universities : this separation has the advantage of safeguarding their vocation better, although not ruling out co-operation with the universities, or the provision of pre-university studies. Examples of non-university short-cycle institutions are provided by the district high schools in Norway, the Ingenieur-Schulen in the Federal Republic of Germany and the "peritos" high schools in the Latin countries.

Over ten years ago Yugoslavia experimented with the incorporation of several short-cycle technical institutes into the universities: according to OECD experts the experiment cannot be regarded as a success, because it was only the institutes that remained independent which retained their prosperity and prestige.

Notwithstanding, as experiments carried out in a country are rarely taken into consideration by neighbouring countries (and sometimes not even by the country in question), possibly because conditions are never identical, some countries are currently thinking of bringing together short-cycle higher education establishments and long-cycle higher establishments, which have hitherto been distinct within a single university complex. Arrangements of this kind are being advocated at the moment in the Federal Republic of Germany, for instance.

It is worth mentioning particularly a move which is as yet confined to a small area, admittedly, by way of reaction to the excessive duration of long-cycle courses of instruction.

Prompted by the desire to enhance their own prestige, certain institutions would constantly extend the duration of their studies, such as those for engineering degrees, which in the Netherlands

last easily seven post-secondary years. This rat-race for book learning and over-loading of brains was encouraged by a distressingly naive concept of the level and prestige of certain degrees ; instead of being based on selection or quality criteria, that concept claims that the prestige of a university training can be measured by the number of years between the end of secondary studies and the award of a degree. Quite recently, the duration of post-secondary engineering studies provided in the French *Instituts nationaux de Sciences appliquées* was increased from four to five years, so that the prestige of such studies might be enhanced. On the other hand, all praise is due to the British and Swedish authorities, who in the interests of efficiency and economy have refused to extend the length of engineering studies (which last either three of four years, depending on the university). It is gratifying, too, that in Germany the Federal Minister of Education and Research is recommending shorter periods of university engineering studies, at least for certain sections. The outcome of this shorter period must not, of course, be confused with short-cycle instruction, which is more practical and does not require so high a standard of basic scientific knowledge. These trends are perfectly in keeping with the idea of the establishment of permanent education ; they represent a bid to curb the academic tendency to accumulate knowledge and revise it under the stimulus of certain types of examinations, and instead to emphasise the acquisition of an action methodology, the capacity to select, judge and put into practice. Both wittily and correctly, Bernard Shaw maintained that there was no need to learn what books said, as it was all written down in books anyway. Needless to say, if long-cycle studies are abbreviated with the introduction of a shift in the conventional concept of initial training, this pre-supposes that efforts in the form of continued education will be maintained. These two features, a new attitude towards knowledge during initial training, and the effect of continued training, are central to the problems of permanent education.

Equal opportunities

Admissions to higher education and especially to university are dominated by the preoccupation, common to the different up-to-date countries, that access to the most responsible functions in society shall be more democratic.

The word democratic means precisely that all social classes shall have equitable access to an education that was the preserve, until more or less recent times, and depending on the country, of children from the most privileged social backgrounds — not through any classified form of privilege, but merely through the combination of *wealth*, the *degree of culture* pervading the different backgrounds, and the *type of education* administered for the purpose of training, for assessing abilities and the award of degrees.

Because of these three elements, it is extremely difficult to bring about "equal opportunities", the principle of which is designed to put all young people on an equal footing vis-à-vis life's competitions.

The easiest inequality to overcome is no doubt that of wealth — firstly by differentiated financial assistance with studies, and secondly because the wealthy student is a prey to distractions that a poorer student cannot afford — so that he is encouraged to work harder.

It is harder to know where we stand with *cultural inequality, resulting from the social background*, and to correct that inequality ; the pre-school age is of the utmost importance for acquiring the habit of observation, curiosity and fluency of expression, so that even before they go to school, certain children are in possession of advantages which will put them ahead of their contemporaries for good, while others will have lost certain facilities, which their teachers will not be able to revive. It is for this reason that educationists have for a long time urged that receptiveness to normative education, which starts with primary school, should be made equal through nursery school plus "schools for parents". It is safe to say, accordingly, that it is to nursery schools that the universities must look, if they are to be made more democratic.

Having emphasised adequately the significance of this factor, we think it is only right and honest to acknowledge that not all children have the same natural gifts. Willy-nilly, there is *genetic inequality* : children of parents of superior intellectual ability are more likely to show particular aptitudes than are children of parents who are intellectually undistinguished. This factor has something to do with the proportion of children from successful families completing their studies successfully, even in the most egalitarian societies, being larger than the proportion of children from other backgrounds who distinguish themselves academically.

It is reasonable not to accept unreservedly the argument that university education tends to maintain social privileges — despite the way that argument is exploited for purposes that are seldom disinterested. It is hard to see how scientific disci-

plines, which are directly subject to scrutiny and based on impartial facts and logic, could help maintain social privileges. Even in disciplines which are concerned with the study of individual and group behaviour, scientific methodology and ethics should militate against the conditioning of individuals and brain washing. This is clearly apparent at present in countries which seek to impose, through education, a pattern of thinking and attitudes which complies entirely with the established order ; despite attempts to keep out extraneous or conflicting information, scientific methodology, the quest for truth and an inextinguishable love of freedom encourage many intellectuals to point to other paths than that of official orthodoxy.

In terms of mere arithmetic, universities could be regarded as completely democratic if all social groups were represented by their children in exact ratio to their numerical force in society. An objective of this kind may provide a suitable guide, although it has never been achieved even by governments which have sought, like the East Berlin authorities immediately after the war, to bar universities to young people whose parents were professional people.

It is fair to take the view, however, that even if university democratisation came very close to the above arithmetical situation, it would not be enough to dispose of the ambiguities inherent in the subject of democratisation.

Is university the sole condition for major success in life ?

Must the principal objective of short-cycle higher education institutes be access for their students to universities or preparation for immediate entry into an occupation ?

The expression "mass university" is at present a bye-word among many politicians, but it is patently obvious that the two ideas going to make it up are antinomic, unless we agree to regard university institutions as a kind of hyper-market in which luxury items and everyday necessities are to be found cheek by jowl.

The corollary of universal entitlement to university education is liable to be belief in the universal entitlement to a better job. How is this to be balanced, without causing frustration, with the need for a certain distribution and a certain hierarchy of functions in real society, regardless of its historical or ideological structure ?

How far must higher education give priority to general education, in order to develop an aptitude for change, or to specialist training, in order to ensure the acquisition of a skill ?

All these are questions to which higher education institutions have failed to provide a satisfactory answer ; it may be that they will never be able to find the answers, since society will at all times no doubt include functions not so highly esteemed as others.

Growth and selection

The fact that entry into the world of work without the seal of approval of a university degree is regarded as an *academic punishment*, a *social failure* or an *injustice*, depending on circumstances, accounts for the pressure brought to bear in political circles especially in favour of university for the masses. The assumption seems to be that there is only one opportunity for an ambitious individual to achieve social advancement (something that is perfectly legitimate and desirable in all families), namely the pursuit of studies while he is of school age, in accordance with the traditional pattern, by means of a form of secondary education that is uncontaminated if possible, by any idea of specialisation or occupational purpose ; the alternative is technical education recognised as equivalent with facilities for moving over to general secondary education.

Hand-in-hand with this polarisation of ambitions towards the maximal solution, i.e. the long cycle of higher education, is the rejection of occupational guidance at the secondary level.

The liveliest controversy in most European countries, in the last few years, has been centred around selection. Apart from certain exceptions, governments have gone along with the wishes of most of the public by promoting massive university entrances, regardless of the difference between the number of graduates and the number of corresponding jobs ; in some cases they have even brought down the level of minimum requirements for university entrance : the result has been a proliferation of diplomas testifying to the completion of secondary studies, equivalence for technical diplomas which in some cases give only an inadequate guarantee of general education, and even, in extreme cases, the admission of students who have failed to complete their ordinary secondary studies successfully.

Certain politicians have raised such a hue and cry against selection that people not refusing to see selection as a basic law of the dynamics of all human societies, and as a law of life, have been

made to feel guilty ; people no longer dare assert that the most exacting studies ought not to be offered, mirage-like, to young people unable to rise to their challenge. So it is that demagogy, in some cases, conviction, in others, and lastly resignation, in still others, produces a very general form of consent that opens wide the university gates to anyone wishing to enter, with everyone anxious to avoid laying himself open to the criticism that he has in any way whatever prejudiced the "universal right to culture".

As a result, there has been helter-skelter entry into universities, a rising wastage rate, discontent among the young and the squandering of public money. There is an abundance of evidence to this effect in countries where university entrance is unrestricted. But to regret the presence in the universities of a large number of unsuitable students does not necessarily mean that there are too many students — although in some cases, bearing in mind employment opportunities, it is safe to say that there are too many students — even gifted students — in several sectors.

It is hard for the universities, which naturally tend to regard all higher education as essentially desirable, to admit this harsh reality. But it is important to make sure that the right to education is not applied so blindly that another right, that to a job, is thwarted.

When all is said and done, selection occurs sooner or later. It may be rejected at the pre-university stage, but it goes on during the course of university studies, and if the free-and-easy regime of 1968 meant that university degrees were handed out in isolated cases almost automatically, the lack of esteem in which uncertified documents are inevitably held has meant that the graduates in question have felt the full effect of the selection that ineluctably takes place later on, in the employment market.

Failures caused by late selection — failure in studies or the inability to find a job that matches the degree obtained — are in fact more painful and more difficult to right than are failures at the admission stage, since if a candidate finds one door closed to him, at that initial stage, he may find hard by another than is open, by means of which he can move towards success without wasting time, and without society wasting money. Although the advocates of "unrestricted entry" do not question the painful consequences that that policy may mean, they claim that at least students are given every opportunity and cannot blame anyone for their failure but themselves.

Such an attitude is reminiscent of Pontius Pilate. It is no good washing one's hands of responsibility for having led young people up a blind alley, when guidance better adapted to their scope might have led them to "success".

The increased numbers in establishments of higher education is still far from having reached a steady ratio vis-à-vis the population numbers, as certain social backgrounds are still under-represented.

Together with this increase in the number of full-time students, there is going to be a relatively greater increase in the number of workers who are students, because they are receiving continued higher education.

Against this, there will be a doubtless smaller increase in demands for responsible executives. This will raise the problem of how men and women who have received a higher education are to be induced to agree to work in a medium capacity, or even as operatives, without too great a shock to their sensibilities. This is a problem that will require a radical change in attitudes and even in the fabric of social relationships.

In an OECD report entitled "Towards new structures of post-secondary education" (1971), the problem of the new targets in higher education is posed in the following terms :

> "Most countries are at an intermediary and critical stage, between elitist and mass higher education, the former having to be abandoned under the pressure of numbers and of a series of socio-economic factors, the latter requiring structures, content and organisational arrangements which have not yet been developed and only partly identified."

Mass higher education thus gives rise to conflicts which will have to be resolved

— between equality and high standards

— between the studies one wants to pursue and employment opportunities

— between innovatory and conservative impulses

— between university expansion and resources.

In the meantime, the increase in sums of money devoted to education prompts the question of a new golden rule being put forward, whereby the proportion of public monies to be spent on education, either by the State or local authorities, can be defined. There is also the question of the proportion to be contributed by the private sector, this term being taken to include companies plus the families concerned, at the same time.

Professor Taylor gave the following percentages of public expenditure earmarked for education, for the 16 European countries questioned :

1 over 20 %
6 between 20 % and 15 %
7 between 15 % and 10 %
2 less than 10 %.

On the basis of extrapolation of trends in these countries to 1980, it can be argued that over half of them will be devoting over 20 % to education.

It is important to distinguish, in these amounts,

— the proportion to be allocated to *basic education* (pre-school education, compulsory education, general and technical secondary education) ;

— the proportion to be devoted to *higher education* and to research, which is a part of higher education ;

— the proportion to be made available for the different activities making up continued education (general and occupational).

At the same time, the question of the effectiveness of the enormous social investment represented by the development of higher education will inevitably become more and more acute : it will be essential to ensure the optimum use of facilities and the largest possible field for man's action ; it will also be necessary to ensure that university activity, and especially that part of the instruction dispensed at university which is connected with occupational activity, is better geared to employment scope and demand, such scope and demand being projected, in accordance with socio-economic forecasting and "political" choices, over the next decade.

Continued education is already feeling the effect in industrialised countries of substantial developments, which need to be harmonised so as to prevent a series of duplication and wastage. This is particularly necessary since under the various acts already voted on or at the draft stage substantial appropriations are going to be made available : under the French continued vocational training Act of 16 July 1971, for instance the sums to be levied will in 1975 total 2 % of total wages.

In the case of training for engineers, there are already specialist organisations and means of co-operation with higher technical education institutions, enabling technicians to achieve advancement. In the United Kingdom further education of this kind is expanding more and more, facilitated by day-release or block-release arrangements (whereby workers are released from work for a working day or a term), or again by sandwich courses. More than one-third of chartered engineers qualifying every year do so by means of sandwich courses, in which education has been combined with periods of professional activity. It is hoped that the "Open University" experiment will render invaluable assistance to the cause of permanent education.

In the Netherlands, vocational establishments providing higher education are attended by 72,000 full-time students and 51,600 part-time students.

In France, the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers and its associate centres attract a growing number of technicians every year, several hundreds of whom acquire qualifications as engineers, recognised by the Qualified Engineers' Committee.

It is to be noted that drives for continued education have been mainly initiated by the private sector, in major undertakings, so as to meet the demand for executive and managerial staff. It was easier in those cases, in fact, to "make a start with the ceiling". The principal effort will now have to be directed towards the foundations, by better harnessing the existing potential in maintained and private education, and also by harnessing the material and human potential available to industry and arranging for the whole to be properly co-ordinated.

In this way continuous education will be integrated, as it should be, within permanent education, which can be seen — as was pointed out at the Symposium — as a "strategy for planning".

The resumption of studies at a certain stage of professional activity, usually without any break away from the material, social and cultural necessities represented by that professional activity, is a further undertaking that awaits definition and launching on a large scale.

Professor Taylor does not think that substantial savings can be effected by enabling young people to defer post-compulsory education and training until a later stage in life. He doubts very much if provision for a return to full-time study at later stages of life will do much to slow down the increasing tendency for young people to remain at school until 18 and to wish to continue their education after this age, even in the absence of any motivation. It is important to emphasise, however, that the possibility of resuming studies by means of continuous education presupposes that initial training provides an adequate grounding in general culture.

Main points

— Higher education has expanded in a wide variety of directions in order to meet the professions' needs for highly qualified staff, and increasingly so as to satisfy advancement requirements, which are now concerning all social classes. Higher education in the singular has given rise to several types of higher education, and is gradually coming to be "higher education for the masses".

University, the principal higher education establishment, is feeling the effect of socio-economic changes the most : its evolution is being questioned and deplored, and has assumed the proportions of a full-scale crisis of civilisation.

— This crisis stems in the first place from the need to reconsider the purpose of higher education in terms of individual happiness, society's welfare, progress in work and scientific research.

— A distinction can be made between two kinds of higher education :

- *short-cycle* education, catering for an occupational speciality, following secondary studies immediately and lasting from two to three years ;
- *long-cycle* education, providing first general education extending further than secondary studies, without any specific occupational purpose, and in a second stage providing occupational training that is broad enough to permit adjustment to developments and guided developments.

— Interchanges frequently take place between establishments and staff dispensing these two kinds of education. The prime responsibility of the universities is for long-cycle higher education courses, but in some countries they do not provide all long-cycle training courses ; conversely, they are sometimes responsible for a greater or lesser proportion of short-cycle higher education courses.

— An answer still has to be found to the question of separating short-cycle higher education institutions from institutions providing long-cycle instruction (general universities and technical universities).

— There is a growing tendency to regard short-cycle higher education institutions as a jumping-off ground for university, although neither their vocation nor their curriculum is geared to that role. In the Netherlands, for instance, 600 out of 1,900 students having successfully completed short-cycle courses enrolled for university courses. There is scarcely any scope, in fact, for students attending short-cycle institutions to go on to university except by means of academic transfer during the course of their studies.

— It should be possible for students having successfully completed short-cycle higher education courses to go on to seek long-cycle higher educational qualifications normally and efficiently, by undergoing a period of occupational activity which provides rewards and security. Despite the success with this formula recorded in the United Kingdom, however, experiments must still be carried out in most countries, and on a sufficient scale to be convincing.

— Access to higher education tends to appear as the ultimate goal of educational democratisation. This results in increased contempt for occupational training not forming a part of higher education, and a concentration of ambition on higher education and particularly university education, often without any precise motivation, as though university entrance were a raison d'être.

— The situation thus depicted indicates the insufficient place occupied by the "second way", i.e. continued education ; it also indicates that it is generally agreed that functions in life should conform with a hierarchy, based on earlier, and often very remote, academic achievements. These two defects demonstrate the need to bring about changes in institutions and attitudes (not to mention matters not covered by this report, such as wages and style of living).

— The distortions arising out of an over-naïve concept of advancement through initial education are indicative of the size of the effort still required in informing families and making for easier pupil guidance, throughout secondary studies, and most of all during the latter part of those studies, before entering university.

— Difficult problems arise in connection with the automatic regulation of the channelling of students into the different occupational sectors in higher education, so as to match the jobs that will be available for them at the end of their initial training. These include :

- the constant adjustment of curriculum content to the pattern of future needs, in which the aim will be polyvalence, permitting adaptation and innovation ;
- the approximative adjustment of numbers recruited for occupational training to foreseeable needs in the corresponding activities.

— There is still a certain contradiction between

the achievement of "right to culture" through the expansion of "university for the masses" and the purpose which universities must unflinchingly serve, that of providing "centres of excellence".

— Education and initial training methods still have to be revised, in order to achieve a *calculated incompleteness*, so as to maintain curiosity and encourage "self-culture". It is clear that there is still a tendency to extend further studies and for the final consecration to be seen as investigating static knowledge rather than providing a guarantee of the ability to select, put into practice and decide.

In other words, the present concept of examinations and degrees, despite certain praiseworthy but ill-regulated intentions, is far from the concept on which the preparation for continued education through initial education ought to be based.

— Far too little attention is paid in most kinds of university education to what is gratuitous, social, to communication (for instance, foreign languages) — except in the case of training given in most occupational training institutions whose purpose is well determined.

This defect is especially to be noted in the early years of university courses (propaedeutical education).

— The proportion of public funds devoted to education is going to continue to increase, although no doubt not so fast. What part is to be set aside for higher education, remembering its two-fold purpose, namely initial training and research and continued education? It may be that a "golden rule" could be suggested.

It would be as well to determine in advance as well the areas in which the private sector should be asked to contribute, and the extent of its contribution.

— The presence of two or three outside persons on university boards is not enough to ensure effective links with the pattern of socio-economic requirements.

— There is a strong case for carrying out research into the conditions in which higher education institutions' potential is utilised for reception, teaching and laboratory activities, with a view to improving, where appropriate, the internal efficiency of the service and assessing the proportion to be devoted to continued educational activities.

II. STUDENT PARTICIPATION AND CAREER OPPORTUNITIES

It is quite legitimate that students should approach higher education with a view to using it to achieve a position in society that corresponds to their interests and ambitions.

Undoubtedly some students enrol at university more because it is easy to gain admission than from ideas of a specific vocation, to postpone the responsibility of a job rather than to experience the joys of learning, to benefit from the material and social advantages which their status as students confers than to devote themselves to the university community.

This category comprises less motivated or gifted young people for whom university is a waiting room where they can pass the time fairly pleasantly and a base from which they can assume the easy task and self-importance of denouncing the evils of society unless they prefer to rest content with distractions not involving such aggressive urges.

However, although the university becomes a reception centre for young people lacking in a sense of vocation, the fault lies far less with them since they will in the long run suffer for it than with those who bear responsibility for a system of education which rejects competition and encourages the idea that one is entitled to a place in the community as of right rather than as a reward for hard work.

However much capital may have been made out of misunderstandings of this kind, and of a certain inactivity which is no more than an interim appeasement, generally speaking students are active, open and aware of the need to work. Unlike certain complacent adults, they have been faster in drawing the right conclusions from the unrealistic schemes of 1968 and have reassessed their problems in the light of reality and common sense.

However, the relative calm typical of this attitude in no way indicates acceptance of a return to past stagnation. Students are aware that it is not enough to overthrow an unsuitable construction to build, as if by magic, a better alternative. They have experience of the apostles of student unrest ready to enlist them in the service of their own ideology and revolution. They have also made a practical and sincere attempt to bring about a university community more deserving of that name.

Whatever sympathetic cords questions of equality may strike in the soul of young people, problems that concern them more closely have often been

avoided. These problems have still not been solved in many cases and students often feel that they are alone in facing them. Summarised very simply, this is the situation created by the considerable expansion in higher education.

The difficulties involved are essentially the same in all European countries and are associated with the relationship between the "academic community" constituting the institution of higher education and the everyday world in which students are entitled to find their own place and play a part.

Disappointment and anxiety are often to be felt in the atmosphere in which the hard-working student seeks his way.

Disappointment is the outcome of the mountain of promised improvements which has given birth to a mouse, in the form of diluted participation.

The anxiety is due to the increasing danger, especially in those faculties where admission is easiest, of the student not finding employment at the end of his studies, even though his marks are good.

The teacher-student relationship is now a more open one. There is less false deference but there is always genuine respect whenever the teacher is able to show his students individual proof of his interest. The anonymity of relations is the true cause of lack of understanding and distrust. With the increase in students, professors, whose numbers have not risen proportionately, have seen a barrier of anonymity rise between their students and themselves. The influence of assistants has grown correspondingly, though this does not always guarantee the same level of objectivy.

The aloof professor has become suspect, like the cultural values which have been challenged by the highest authorities. Large numbers have resulted in faculties being split up and the community of teachers and taught, typical of universities in the Middle Ages has become a mosaic of units more cut-off than independent.

In the circumstances, teaching and human relations are not sufficiently personal to arouse any desire to take up post-graduate studies.

In the absence of direct relationships, the schemes for participation introduced in answer to the events of 1968 and the provisions along these lines already made in a number of countries have not been able to give students the opportunity of establishing personal relationships with their teachers nor the means of contributing constructively to more effective teaching arrangements.

Often such participation has given rise to a semi-electoral pattern, procedural formalism and endless meetings on routine matters, all leading to a feeling of general inertia. At committee meetings, lacking training in how to lead discussions and above all in subjects corresponding to their interests, students and teachers have grown weary and absenteeism has become a feature of elected assemblies just as it had been earlier in elected student bodies.

Strong in the authority conferred on them by scientific mastery of their specialised field, entrenched in their subject by the splitting-up of faculties and exploiting the general inactivity, the university "bosses", even those who have a sincere desire to find some form of participation, have found that they are as all-powerful and feudal as previously.

If students who have just completed their studies with success are to be naturally receptive to entering into the game of recurrent education, bonds of interest and emotional ties must link them to the institution where they received their initial training.

To this end, action must be taken in several spheres :

— against single subject isolation, by putting into effect the scheme so often recommended in recent years : multidisciplinary education ;

— against isolation in teaching, by making relations between students and teachers easier as regards curricula, teaching methods, methods of assessment and evaluation. However, here the solution is definitely not to set up committees with equal representation since it is ridiculous to make this kind of co-operation into an "equal" match between those who know the subject and those who do not ;

— against human isolation, by taking action likely to create bonds of friendship between students through their work, recreation activities and possibly their hostel life, and by furthering opportunities for "informal" meetings between students and teachers, whether assistant or full professors ;

— against civic isolation, by providing more information, which is not the same as abandoning the university campus to the clutches of unscrupulous adventurers ;

— against the isolation of poverty, by ensuring, through the appropriate bodies — preferably in the form of a study loan rather than a grant not requiring repayment — that all deserving students receive the necessary means to lead a tolerable life free from anxiety and depression ;

— against social isolation, by providing opportunities and projects to encourage joint activities involving students and workers of the same age : for example, sports or cultural activities, shared civic or military service or co-operation on some venture of social value (e.g. the restoration of a village, archaeological excavations, etc.) ;

— lastly, against professional isolation, with the help of participatory bodies, by providing regularly updated information on careers and courses arranged by business concerns and, on a permanent basis, ensuring effective contact for each student, throughout his higher studies, with representatives for the various social and professional activities that correspond to his studies.

In the last instance, considerable progress has yet to be made. It is totally unreasonable to quote, as has been done in certain cases, the autonomy and "rights" of the university as an excuse to hand the campus over to anyone on condition that he advocates rebellion against accepted values or the class struggle yet at the same time refuses access to those who actually control society as it is and are the future employers of students.

By endeavouring to do away with the obstacles we have listed above, the foundations will be laid for a successful appeal to recurrent education : qualified young people will thus be more receptive to the idea involved if they already know and appreciate the realities behind it.

These realities have still to be defined and organised on a national scale as regards their promotional aims, methods and above all the effectiveness of the co-operation to be required between the world of education and the world which needs educated people.

When considering unrest among students the Symposium's attitude was not to condemn the manifestations that may have resulted from it nor to reproach students for the unfortunate events that may have arisen out of student claims or the workings of the first organs of participation in university life ; members concentrated on the recognition of student needs, their sincerity and the need to provide a constructive outlet for the legitimate hopes they had built up of breaking down the barriers that for so long had hampered the evolution of the university community.

Professor Edding referred to prolonged education in an exclusively academic environment as one of the causes of unrest. The developing personality needed a more open framework and particularly a less selfish way of life than that which could be provided by an existence composed of periods spent in the family alternating with attendance at lectures, which in a good many cases did not even include participation in the social life of the university community.

Some countries had put an end to the system whereby students completed their civil or military service after their higher studies, that is to say after the age of 25 — service was completed at the age of 19 or 20, thus constituting a sort of social course fitted in between secondary and higher studies ; though this system may mean a loss of a certain amount of knowledge, which is not a serious disadvantage, it encourages greater maturity and gives the student direct contact with social environments which he had not known either at school or in his family.

The path to community life thus opened up leads to a more direct awareness of the overall problems of permanent education.

In the course of national or civil service students can, on the basis of the various situations which enable them to get outside their usual environment and learn of other patterns of life, realise above all that society includes men of high calibre in every form of activity and that the outstanding merit which these may have acquired was not necessarily produced by university training and results in the main from the generous and intelligent exercise of social and professional responsibility. They may also, by seeing things from a point of view that is at least for a time external to the university, assess the artificial and naïve nature of slogans such as the "bourgeois university" (*université bourgeoise*), "alienating education" (*éducation aliénante*) — catchwords which refer to situations that have not been experienced by most of those who describe them with such complacency. The simplicity of the models constructed and the generous spirit underlying their criticism may seduce high-minded young intellectuals who have not yet had an opportunity to realise that university education, through the very exercise of the scientific critical faculty which it develops is in fact a liberating force and a means of inducing a sense of responsibility.

Main points

— There is a certain degree of unrest among students in higher education mainly in those departments which are easiest of access and where vocational objectives are not clearly defined (literary and even science departments).

— The rapid increase in the number of students has prevented the establishment of vital human relationships.

— Another consequence of growth is that faculties have been split up into departments or highly specialised units : the community which was once blamed for a certain degree of feudalism has now broken up into a mosaic of small-time feudal domains.

— Isolation of this sort is encouraged by the too highly specialised character of certain forms of preliminary teacher training in universities. It will be rectified by the introduction of genuine multi-disciplinary forms of training and by teamwork.

— The hopes placed in participation have sometimes given way to weariness and disappointment, probably because methods of participation were frequently impromptu and not carefully enough prepared in accordance with the object in view. We must distinguish between the following :

- routine questions which must be left to the people who are responsible for day-to-day organisation ;
- educational questions where participation cannot be such as to place teachers and students on an equal footing because of the obvious disparity of knowledge between the two ;
- questions of general organisation particularly with regard to external relations, jobs, and social questions, in which students should participate on a broad basis and even, in certain cases, predominate.

— It would be a good thing to define, presumably at European level, a teachers' code defining their freedom to teach in the framework of their responsibilities, particularly with regard to respect for the opinion of their student audience and for the moral values recognised by society.

— It would also be a good thing to work out a code of rights and duties for European students in connection with their participation in university life in their countries and their behaviour in any foreign universities.

— A vocational or social course should be organised or a period of civil service between the completion of secondary studies and the beginning of higher studies so as to encourage the development of maturity and social responsibility and thus to harness the gregariousness which readily develops among young people still receiving education.

— By means of sports associations, organised travel and courses students should be put in contact with young workers as frequently as possible.

— The various relations which students may develop through external activities should avoid the risk of paternalism and arrogance which could result from a naïve belief in the superiority conferred by university studies : they should learn to appreciate the sterling qualities and education of men and women of all professional levels and realise that the university does not have a monopoly on the production of men and women of calibre. Besides modesty, this realisation should encourage a taste for self-improvement and respect for the mastery of every form of know-how.

— Co-operation between European universities should make it possible to bring legislations in line with one another so as to provide even more scope for the recruitment of foreign teachers and for the exchange of lecturers and assistants.

— While continuing work on the equivalence of diplomas it would be a good thing, and a very simple matter, to extend inter-university Conventions between European countries so that a year completed by a student in a foreign university in specific conditions could be recognised by his university of origin. An agreement on this question has happily been concluded between the Technical University of Karlsruhe and the National Institute of Applied Science of Lyon.

— Among the instruments of participation which each institution of higher education might develop, a particularly suitable one is an external relations department dealing with courses, information and jobs.

III. HARMONISATION OF INITIAL EDUCATION AND RECURRENT EDUCATION

The longer the education the more it was believed to be sufficient in itself and those who had received it, because better equipped to know and to pass on the curricula and methods of corresponding courses than most of their fellow citizens, were thought to possess all the qualities necessary to tackle the future.

However, higher executives in an undoubtedly good position to assess the requirements of scientific, technical, economic and social developments have been the first to become aware of the need to bring their knowledge regularly up to date and the first to encourage preliminary projects, courses, symposia, etc. to this end.

Following the success of these projects and in the light of experience acquired in this manner, it was found that needs were much greater than at first realised and that many executives whose fellow employees were aware of their having "grown old on the job" were unfortunately unaware of their need for new blood, accepting implicitly like most of their forerunners of the previous generation that the impetus provided by a university education would carry them through with ease to the end of their working lives.

This factor, combined with the difficulties of adaptation encountered by persons conscious of their need for renewal, has raised the question whether initial education itself should not be rethought so that recurrent education, now generally acknowledged to be a necessity, does not become a supplement to be acquired at the cost of a more or less painful return to studies long since forgotten, but is regarded as the natural extension of initial education so that the professional diploma in which it culminates is considered more as an initial springboard than as a finishing post.

Once the philosophy of initial education has changed extensively, the conditions under which such education is provided and confirmed must be modified accordingly. The individual should be trained to be capable of acquiring and wishing to acquire knowledge which will be needed later on but which cannot be predicted.

Nothing is more difficult than to prepare for the unknown by acquiring new information ; but some approach can be made by developing dynamic attitudes in the shape of methodological skill animated by a constantly alert curiosity.

Knowledge and the processing of knowledge are two aims to be combined appropriately during initial training in higher education.

By stressing knowledge above all else, university studies, in accordance with tradition, have helped to bring about the "life diploma" ensuring total security and thus providing little incentive ever to challenge what has been learned. By laying greater stress on ability to process knowledge (adaptability as it is sometimes termed) or on the capacity to "learn to learn", the stagnation of the "life diploma" gives way to the stimulation of "lifelong learning".

There is no paradox in saying that the self-taught must be prepared by initial education and given the necessary means by continued education. In initial education the student is subjected to an imposed system ; in continued education the worker-student has initiative and responsibility in his options and his work.

How should the modern university be organised so as to initiate and maintain the process of *lifelong learning* ? This is the great difficulty when restructuring the university to meet the requirements of permanent education. The prospects are so immense that they stimulate the imagination but they must also be approached with caution if we are not to lapse into pipedreams.

Professor van Trotsenburg suggests that this vast issue should be approached pragmatically, on the basis of extensive information and concrete experiences, without excluding the re-adapatation of subject matter which might be justified but not underestimating the value of the guidance and increased efficiency which can be expected from a comprehensive forecast. Several countries have made studies and carried out experiments in higher education, but such efforts are still fragmentary and not properly co-ordinated. The first requirement for success is to arouse the interest of teachers and students and gain the support of both teachers and taught in putting into practice concrete experiments corresponding to specific problems.

To guide discussion on the definition of a framework designed to encourage such an approach, the Symposium programme suggested three subjects for consideration :

- change in the duration of studies ;
- development of syllabuses and teaching methods ;
- changes in methods of assessment.

Duration of studies

Although no-one would advocate restricting the possibilities of access to higher education, three conditions should be taken into account :

— in social investments the expansion of higher education should take other requirements into consideration, particularly the need to assist people from underprivileged backgrounds who often do not voice their difficulties, and sometimes even acute poverty ;

— the general public must realise that higher studies are worthwhile for their own sake in so far as they develop the individual by improving his culture, his possibilities of self-expression in his familiy life and in particular his professional skills. In other words it must be accepted that higher studies do not necessarily lead on to higher jobs ;

— in higher studies, the choice between short or long courses should lead to a balanced distribution of numbers, i.e. the former should be regarded as designed primarily to meet clearly defined professional purposes and not as constituting the introductory cycle of long courses in higher studies.

Attempts to achieve this balance — which is not at variance with the way skills are actually distributed — have emphasised the value of promoting short cycle courses providing rapid specialisation and of maintaining the standard and guarantee of quality of long cycle courses which make higher intellectual demands. In this way, Professor van Trotsenburg reconciles the two requirements of higher education in modern society : mass-production and quality.

The shortening of courses made possible, and undoubtedly desirable, by a system of recurrent education is quite another matter, as has already been pointed out, to changing certain long courses into short ones. The syllabuses and teaching methods of long courses must be re-examined and the consequences drawn from the change from a situation where priority was given to learning to one aiming at the development of a dynamic approach to knowledge.

Fortunately efforts are being made on these lines. Because of conservatism and the pressure of prejudices, however, there is still a tendency to increase the duration of long courses. Here again, it is influence of habit and the need for an information drive to change attitudes.

Syllabuses and methods

In these matters it is easier to diagnose the defects of the current situation than to put forward solutions more in keeping with the principles of permanent education. At present teaching is too compartmentalised, and adaptation to meet new requirements will not be achieved, by adding "package deals", to use Professor van Trotsenburg's words.

Where teaching methods are concerned, it is useless to reiterate the often sweeping criticisms which have been voiced on frequent occasions, especially since 1968, of the excessively unilateral, dogmatic and passive manner in which the message is traditionally conveyed from teacher to pupil. "Lectures" have been held up to public obloquy, often in oratorical performances, themselves not unlike ex-cathedra lectures, only to find that this method of communication was not entirely without its virtues.

We know roughly what we want but not how to get it. I should like to add if I may use my own words as quoted in a study on permanent education which appeared in May 1968 by Mr. Chenevier, Président du Cercle d'études du Conseil National du Patronat français (Chairman of the Study Circle of the French Employers' Association) :

"According to Mr. Capelle, modern education should be the product of a genuine change of mind with regard to knowledge, entailing from a child's earliest years :

— training in how to gain access to information : to find facts, select those that are useful and apply them to problems (thus developing both memory and imagination at the same time) ;
— a more equal balance between lessons and practical application ;
— a wider curriculum and the breakdown of distinctions between theoretical and technical subjects ;
— more effective integration of subjects, at present too artificially compartmentalised ;
— more group work ;
— establishment of a system of guidance not based on coercion."

There are indeed insufficient scientific data making it possible for the moment to undertake consistent radical changes in teaching methods. For instance, on a specific point, when organising higher studies, it is not clear yet whether to start with practical work and then go on to higher studies or whether it is best to provide general education first and then exploit it later by practical training. This is surely a false dilemma since there are probably several valid compromise solutions. The question is nonetheless an interesting one since it challenges the difference at present accepted between long and short studies, i.e. that as the first part of long courses is theoretical, a short cycle course, i.e. specialised on the practical side, cannot take its place.

However, improvement of teaching methods covers a far wider field : new and effective methods, whose resources and extensions can only be guessed, are already available to us. These are the "media" which arouse hope in some and anxiety in others. These media also bring into play considerable commercial interests and this aspect of their development can bring fears that they may not always be adequately based, because of profit

motives on pedagogic knowledge which is inevitably fairly slow to progress.

Professor van Trotsenburg notes some kind of reluctance or "inability to use modern media". We are indeed only at the beginning of the media revolution which will be marked by a development of educational technology organised and put into effect by educational "managers".

The dissemination and reception of knowledge and assessment of its assimilation are all processes, some collective and already highly developed and others individual and still necessitating discovery and perfection, which go considerably beyond the promising products already on the market.

It is of vital importance that the universities, whose research function is of primary importance, overcome the old prejudices which have made them regard teaching problems as routine matters where the possibilities of progress were limited, to be left to more lowly institutions.

Communication between human beings, including teaching problems, in fact afford a huge field worthy of the most ambitious research, especially in respect of the use of media to increase the impact and effectiveness of teaching in terms both of dissemination and of feedback and assessment.

A new technology with scientific foundations to use the English term "software", or as it might be called in French, "génie pédagogique", remains to be built up with its research workers, experts, teachers and technicians.

Needless to say, much information can be derived from experiments and activities already undertaken on a large scale, especially using open or closed circuit television, cinemas have underestimated potential for teaching purposes. The Open University in the United Kingdom, the Telekolleg in the Federal Republic of Germany and other distant study establishments are the testing grounds for the introduction of permanent education, not only in terms of recurrent education but also of initial education.

If genuine continuity is to be achieved between these two stages of permanent education, it is not enough merely to encourage a favourable outlook but, from initial education onwards, the student must be made familiar with the media which will undoubtedly play a primary or even exclusive role in recurrent education.

Aware of the importance of the evolution that can be expected, which will benefit all forms of education and especially higher studies, the Committee on Culture and Education, followed by the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, proposed that a European inter-university institute for the development of multi-media distant study systems (the European Television University) be set up at Florence. The function of this institute, which it is hoped to be set up in the near future, will be to co-ordinate, inspire and apply experiments in practice and to further research on distant study systems. It can thus be hoped that it will become a meeting-place open to European universities for discussions, seminars and demonstration of the teaching uses of present and future media.

Assessment

There is almost general recognition of the need to change traditional methods of assessing teaching results. However, this matter was not specifically studied in relation to initial education at the Symposium, probably because the problems it raises are even more difficult and have received less attention than the modernisation of syllabuses and teaching methods. It is inconceivable that an industry can develop its products and not acknowledge at the same time the decisive role of its assessment service. Similarly, it would be useless to claim to develop education through new methods and revolutionary technology if at the same time more subtle and reliable methods of assessment were not introduced.

To recognise the teaching function of higher education, in particular the universities, and to consider accordingly the question of their efficiency, or even productivity, in no way reflects adversely on their high quality and moral function. Such aims, which can never be fully realised and will therefore always be a target for educational technology, also involve factors other than those to which we will confine ourselves here : assessment of studies and of students.

Although not underestimating the work carried out for almost half a century on docimology or the research done on examinations under the aegis of international bodies, in particular the Council of Europe, there is far more material on the subject criticising and analysing the defects of traditional examinations than putting forward constructive proposals for solutions.

The concept of permanent education has helped to counteract the idea deeply rooted in tradition of an examination leading to a *final diploma*. Indeed it encourages the outlook that a diploma cannot guarantee that the abilities and knowledge attested

by the examination panel will be preserved throughout life nor, a priori, a capacity to meet new responsibilities and master knowledge arising out of subsequent scientific and technological advances.

To enable adults to resume their education, there have been plans to make the organisation and assessment of initial education more flexible by breaking down syllabuses into modules, for each of which credits are given, with no requirements of continuous study and no time limit, in the event of the person subsequently taking up recurrent education. There has even been talk of making the initial diploma an educational cheque.

Lastly, there has been no lack of criticism of final or end-of-year examinations which are regarded as artificial mere spot checks and haphazard. I myself advocated at a Symposium held in Brussels in 1966, at the Council of Europe's instigation, the idea of a continuous record. It is not possible to do away with examinations or diplomas altogether as some assessment must be made if all educational efforts are not to be mere shots in the dark, with no way of distinguishing success from failure.

The purpose of this assessment is three old : to stimulate assess progress and make an appraisal :

— Studies need to be stimulated by regular tests. Although it may well be unpleasant to have one's deficiencies detected, it is very helpful to get some indication as to what line the necessary corrective steps should follow and if the results are positive, this is a further stimulus to continue with the studies. To do away with examinations during the year on the grounds that this lightens the student's work load is a psychological mistake which, all things considered, will not help his studies ;

— To assess progress means evaluating whether the results expected of a particular lesson or part of the syllabus have been obtained. The way in which this is done can be varied : it must not be too time-consuming or require excessive concentration on a given section of a particular subject to the neglect of the rest. Programmed teaching or computer assessment may provide particularly attractive solutions since they do not encroach on study time and, above all, are constantly and discreetly accessible to the student as if conducting some form of frank self-assessment. This is the moment of truth which shows the way, either the work has to be repeated or one is ready for the next stage.

— To make an appraisal at the end of a year's work or a study cycle is obviously a complex procedure. It is also of vital importance when the award of a diploma usually serving as a certificate of proficiency giving access to a profession is involved.

Two important factors are entailed in the final evaluation. One is to give an appraisal of the pupil's progress through his "study record", i.e. a record of all the work in which he has taken part, the tests he has taken and, generally speaking, any activities which have been the subject of qualitative or quantitative evaluation.

Methodological science has still a long way to go to judge by the difficulty experienced even at the level of the class council in establishing exactly what qualities should be evaluated in the student's "work" and how this should be marked. A lexicon of qualities characteristic of scholastic achievement for various subjects has yet to be compiled as the foundation for constructive docimology.

The second objective, which is more difficult to achieve, is to go from objective knowledge of school results to an appraisal of the student's intrinsic qualities so as to draw up a profile of his ability to deal with problems and situations. This profile, a genuine identity card of the student's potential behaviour, is obviously primarily a pipe-dream. Perhaps it will not always remain so and then the certificate of proficiency to be awarded at the end of a course will — like the results of a medical examination — remain an objective and reliable document for some time.

Obviously considerable progress has yet to be made before the present assessment of attainments can become a forecast of the student's capacity for future attainments.

Viewed from this angle, the diploma becomes a strictly personal matter and the information it provides is confidential in the same way as that of a medical diagnosis. As it refers to a particular point in time, it will require regular confirmation in the same way as flying certificates awarded to airline pilots.

It should be remembered that syllabuses, teaching methods and assessment were discussed at the Symposium held at Pont-à-Mousson in early January 1972. In our opinion, little can be added to the general ideas expressed at this meeting and the moment had come to take action on a small scale and on a pragmatic basis through experimentation. This was the view taken by Professor van Trotsenburg in his lecture when he expressed his pessimism as to the chances of over-ambitious

projects succeeding. He added : "too wide a concept of permanent education is likely to lead to chaos".

The conclusion to be drawn from these discussions is that we know very little about the kind of education designed to instill the capacity to act and arouse at the same time an appetite for continued study : the field is open for reflection through *research* and action through *experimentation*.

Main points

— Traditional education encourages a false sensation of completion and does not encourage awareness of the need to update knowledge.

— The aims of traditional education should be reexamined by transforming it into initial education. Instead of amassing knowledge whose assimilation was inadequately assessed, students should acquire a dynamic approach to knowledge. A methodology for processing knowledge is more important than the assimilation of a specific syllabus.

— The previous "life diploma" should become a temporary certificate of proficiency requiring regular confirmation in forms to be determined according to the individual situation concerned.

— Permanent education integrates and co-ordinates suitable initial education and recurrent education, whose philosophy and structures have yet to be defined. It requires some degree of continuity between the means employed by these two types of education and is more an educational strategy than a new institution.

— Through permanent education, the duration of initial education can be cut down without making concessions to easiness. This does not mean that shorter university studies are to be confused with "short" vocational training courses usually consisting of specialised instruction following immediately on secondary school studies.

— Syllabuses and teaching methods in higher education should be reviewed in the light of the new aims and resources. Media should be introduced in initial education, not only to increase efficiency but also to pave the way for the necessary continuity with recurrent education.

— The growing importance and the variety of educational techniques call for the setting-up of a new branch of applied sciences which could be called "software".

— Experiments in distant study systems of higher education at present being carried out in various countries should be studied and their results compared with a view to systematic application for the development of recurrent education. The proposed inter-university institute at Florence for the study and development of "software" and primarily of distant study systems, corresponds in line with the wishes expressed by the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, to a major requirement of our age.

— Assessment of students' work and the establishment of a profile of their ability to deal with problems and situations is an ambitious aim. Nonetheless, this is the line which should be taken when attempting to modify the professional diplomas at present awarded by the universities and other higher educational establishments.

— Knowledge and experience in the specific sectors of syllabuses, teaching methods and assessment of students are very limited for the moment. It is not clear how these three factors should be developed to encourage a favourable approach to recurrent education. This major issue requires research.

— Rather than embarking on comprehensive decisions in fairly unknown territory, research and experiments should be increased on a pragmatic basis. In this way hopes of permanent education will not be disappointed and will lead to constructive efforts.

IV. THE CONDITIONS FOR RECURRENT EDUCATION AT A HIGHER LEVEL

The purpose of discussing this subject is to define a strategy for continued education on the basis of experiments, which have been carried out in large numbers, but sporadically, by reason of particular circumstances and not directed towards a general objective.

Experiments were in the first place determined by considerations of improving efficiency in work. But this utilitarian target, perfectly reasonable in order to start off continued education on realistic and accepted foundations, should be rapidly widened to include needs that spring from family life, civic life and leisure activities.

In other words, a broad non-materialistic range should be included together with vocational considerations in the organisation of continued education ; education and culture are the two largely overlapping and complementary aspects of continued education to be furthered at the higher point as at other levels.

Politicians, subjected to such a wide variety of pressures, tend to fall back on familiar solutions and are thus apt to be "conservatives" in education. Increases in the educational expenditure are fairly easily accepted, especially in a period of economic prosperity, in the hope of increased prosperity, especially since these increases would have the support of a very wide public. But the selection of priorities within overall educational expenditure, especially as regards the portion allotted to higher education, depends more on tradition or on the strength of demand for higher education than on a clear recognition of needs, which is a far more vital matter when endeavouring to steer towards the society of the future.

A higher education diploma is sought after by an increasing number of candidates because it offers the best entrance ticket to life — one may expect from it both *prestige* and *remuneration*. Yet, whereas all the candidates for higher diplomas expect to obtain by that means a *privileged position*, the fact that they are increasing in number and are frequently distributed among the various sectors of higher education and the various vocational categories in such a way as bears no relation to employment prospects means that a growing proportion of them will not attain that privileged position.

Non-university diplomas of vocational qualification are underestimated in the case of all forms of post-secondary education. The university degree will be forced, in view of its increasingly wide distribution, to "sell more cheaply", but that will hardly slow down the rush on studies which are considered to have the most prestige.

There is talk of selection in order to apportion studies according to needs. But what is the value of it? How is it to be done? What is to be offered to those who did not win the selection match?

The last question is one of vital social importance, as much as the need to persuade universities that an academic education is perfectly compatible with the exercise of a professional activity that may be technically accessible on the basis of a less advanced form of general education.

Continued education will offer a real alternative in our new society to those who have not had the "luck" to pursue their studies or to complete them successfully at the age of full-time education. Its extension and "credibility" will justify any pre-university selection and it will be self-regulating, in that many young people knowing that they are keeping their opportunities open, will elect to enter some career spontaneously at some lower level without insisting at all costs on settling down indefinitely as students. Thus continued education should eliminate that social parasite the "professional student".

In the quest for conditions favourable to the development of continued education two constructive psychological factors should first be noted which are naturally strengthened through initial contact with family, social and professional responsibilities — they are maturity and motivation; these two incentives are sometimes absent in students who, as a result of continuous study, are limited to the family and school environment in circumstances of unbroken docility under a form of guardianship which shelters them from all needs and relieves them of all anxieties, and who have thus proceeded, without the intervention of any striking events, from the nursery school to university. The insertion between secondary and higher studies of a period involving a change of environment and the assumption of new responsibilities has, whenever tried, always resulted in the reinforcement of the student's maturity and motivation, whether the time was spent on a vocational course, social work or even military service, which is not always a deliberate source of cultural enrichment: the insertion of a break in the sequence of studies for the purpose of activity and responsibility offers many more advantages than disadvantages — if it is a disadvantage that some knowledge will be forgotten as a result of the break; for we may reasonably suppose that the forgotten knowledge will soon be regained if it is of any use and that it is not a bad thing to jettison it when its only purpose was to help get through examinations.

If, then, a break lasting about one year prior to the commencement of higher studies is profitable for full-time students, it is certain that professional life may, under certain circumstances, be combined with continued education and thus enable the worker who has reached the level required to enter higher studies to pursue them with a chance of success comparable to that enjoyed by full-time students.

It might even be thought that higher education combined with the pursuit of normal family, social and professional life may often be more efficacious than a prolonged stay in the artificial environment of full-time post-secondary institutions organised more as factories for the anonymous production of socially privileged persons than as centres where each individual can put his life and inclinations in harmony with studies corresponding to clearly identified ambitions.

As a result of the university's participation in the task of continued education we may expect a revaluation of the university as an institution and in any case a profound transformation of its social standing and its methods.

The practical conditions of the expansion of recurrent education at post-secondary level are to be defined in particular in three fields : structures, objectives, teacher training.

Structures

One of the first conditions of the resumption of studies by a professional worker is that his professional activity should contribute as far as possible by its very nature or by its implications to the support of his continued educational endeavours.

When the applicant has provided proof of his determination and aptitudes, for instance by completing a trial period of "evening classes" or "correspondence courses" he must be freed from part of his working time for the sake of his continued studies. This condition can be fulfilled without financial loss to the person concerned by means of an agreement or of social legislation adapted to the various situations. In certain countries a complete break in professional activity has been provided for, together with the payment of compensation almost equal to salary in order to enable the recipient to devote himself entirely to the resumption of his studies. This system may be the best one in certain particular cases but it cannot be introduced generally for several reasons : first it is very costly to the community — and also to the firm, which loses a good worker ; it tears the applicant out of a stable environment and puts him in a strange setting which does not necessarily act favourably upon his development. Lastly, it substitutes for security of tenure the chance of a post presumed to be better, indeed, but only if the studies are crowned with success.

Objectives

A typology of the operations involved in recurrent education has already been established and may be outlined as follows :

— *Bringing knowledge up-to-date* is the operation which enables a person exercising professional responsibility to keep abreast of the times and thus fulfil the obligations resulting from new developments in his job.

— *Refresher training* is an operation closely related to the previous one but is a somewhat feeble and pathological image of it ; for, although the word is often used in the sense of bringing up-to-date, its real meaning is more "getting back into form" ; it applies to a person who for various reasons has lost his touch and needs to get on top of his job again. It may be said that refresher training is *remedial* whereas bringing up-to-date is *preventive*.

— *Redeployment* goes beyond bringing up-to-date; it consists in acquiring a new professional skill ; the case arises, for example, when openings are too limited in the branch in which one is operating and the decision is taken to move towards a different kind of activity.

— *Promotion* reflects the ambition of a person who wishes to obtain the requisite skill to assume higher responsibilities than those already exercised. The preparation required at post-secondary level includes extension of scientific education along with the acquisition of more advanced technical knowledge.

— *General culture*, in so far as it pursues no material interest, cannot be excluded from recurrent education schemes ; the satisfaction obtained from personal cultural enrichment in family and social life and in leisure pursuits is deserving of support, for the pursuit of gain must not be the only motive force in the development of continued education. This approach does in fact produce material benefits ; the most disinterested forms of general cultural development frequently have indirect but very positive effects on the social vocation and human relations of executives and, more generally, of everyone assuming some social or economic responsibility.

Teacher training

Continued education faces the tutor with new problems : the psychology of the worker, his motivation, the influence of his social environment, his high degree of maturity, and not least his sensitivity radically alter the relations between teacher and taught as compared to the generally accepted relationship — that meets with varying degrees of success — between masters and students in the traditional forms of education. This fact has raised the question of whether a special corps of tutors should be formed for continued education in order to meet the needs of adults engaged in professional activities. The reply to that question is firmly negative. We can accept the fact that it is wholly beneficial for teachers in traditional education to obtain appropriate sociological and psychological training by means of courses and regular relations with professional circles and thus to acquire the

skills and understanding required for the development of fruitful relations with professional workers. This experience will also contribute to the success of their teaching with students undergoing initial education.

There has been talk of monitors and group leaders to supply the needs of continued education ; the expressions denote the desire to avoid the traditional style of teacher — rather artificial and academic, in fact a caricature. The modern teacher, not only in his relations with adults but also in his relations with full-time students must also be a group leader. But it would in fact be going too far in one's desire to refashion the type to try to substitute for knowledge, the fundamental quality of the teacher, the skills of a master of ceremonies.

Finally, continued education will, in view of its range and the specific nature of certain of its subjects, call for the assistance of occasional teachers ; here we refer, without condenscension to qualified persons who travel around the various active environments of society and exercise a responsibility in them. The use of such travelling teachers alongside professional teachers and in close co-operation with them will be beneficial to both. Since every member of the "managerial staff", every highly qualified person, will be looked upon as a potential occasional teacher in the new world of permanent education, higher forms of education, even the most specialised forms and those most remote from the teaching profession itself, will have to be founded on a general education including a degree of training in the art of communication ; men who have received and mastered a certain skill will have to accept the need to transmit it ; those who have responsibility for others will have to receive training in the practical skill of communication, preferably during some initial period, since teaching is nothing more than the development of communication in one particular direction.

We are well aware of the fact that it is not sufficient to stress the need for such education ; we need to conceive of methods capable of sustaining it and to introduce into the educational system whatever arrangements may be needed. The general questions which have just been referred to point to the various paths of action. But they do not guarantee that action will be taken.

All the concrete measures proposed by Professor Edding do in fact define a new structure for education in close relationship with the professions for the purpose of putting recurrent education into practice. They form a coherent system of proposals which combine and sometimes amplify the conclusions concerning the main ideas contained in the themes of the Symposium.

The "second chance" offered by continued education is not a complement to initial higher education; it is a logical arrangement to meet a new need and a right that must be recognised.

In the immediate future relations between teachers and the world of work must be encouraged and put on an institutional basis in order to promote mutual understanding and permanent adjustment of education.

The productivity of the educational system must also be studied as a whole and resources must be used to the full particularly at higher educational level where they cost more and achieve more valuable results. Lastly, it is necessary to do justice to professional qualifications and recompense skill and responsibility, not diplomas.

Our conceptions of examinations and diplomas are archaic — but we must not go the other way and recommend higher studies without any form of control — the essential thing is that the certificates of qualification which conclude training should be truly meaningful. Thus we shall not be covering too large a field if we call for Europe-wide experiments in order to compare results and on the basis of a broad survey define objective and acceptable methods of assessment.

Finally, as was to be expected, the question of what means are to be employed in providing a coherent system of continued higher education to all who can benefit from it raises a number of problems for which only partial solutions have been found.

Whether we are tackling the question of how to disseminate knowledge among workers who are both widely dispersed and consumed by professional obligations, how to supervise their studies and provide individual assessment of the skills acquired, or what social measures to introduce if more than a small minority are to receive continued education, the problem is to a very large extent a political one. It is a worthy subject of inter-governmental co-operation and the outcome ought perhaps, in the first instance, as far as the post-secondary level is concerned, be the emergence of a European policy on recurrent education.

In its new guise, higher education will cost more than in its traditional form, as it is likely that there will eventually be twice as many working students as full-time students. This should cause no consternation : much can be done to increase the functional efficiency of the academic investment in

men and material which our universities and other higher educational institutions represent, and large sums have already been assigned, for example, by big firms, to providing their managerial and executive staff with courses for refresher training and for bringing knowledge up-to-date ; even larger amounts have been earmarked by law in some countries for the development of continued education.

The time has come to embark on concerted pedagogical research, to initiate experiments, to compare results and to display a great deal of imagination, good sense and an ardent desire for social progress.

Main points

— Preconditions for the establishment of recurrent education, particularly at post-secondary level :

- very widely diffused information,
- introduction of eminently credible educational and social measures to promote equal opportunity of access to higher education after the commencement of working life,
- a policy on higher education to marry initial education with continued education and bring both within a policy aiming at the model society of the future.

— Vocational training should offer specialisation to all who require it ; it must also aim to endow people with the capacity to specialise. Continued education must not fail, even in the field of vocational training, to make room for general education, i.e. education in communication and cultural activities.

— An opportunity must be provided to move from short-term post-secondary education — leading to qualifications as a high-grade technician — to long-term education at university level, on the basis of careful preparation so as to avoid the abandonment of professional activity and require simply a reduction in weekly work while providing the same guarantee of quality and the same chance of success as full-time university education.

— Continued education facilities will help to regulate the flow of full-time students who all too often select their specialised studies haphazardly or for futile reasons. A well-developed system of continued education will put right any malformations and waste that at present result from a centering of ambitions on full-time long-term higher education.

— The various forms of teaching provided under continued education require special structures — the break-down of programmes into "units" means that knowledge can be built up as time goes on. A recurrent system provides a very flexible means of alternating work and education or combining both. Experiments at present being carried out should be watched closely and made use of in the establishment of reliable and appropriate teaching methods.

— Assessment of the work of widely dispersed students taking part in continued education raises new and difficult problems. Self-assessment should be developed at least as a means of control and as a stimulus.

— Use of the media in continued education will be a pre-condition of success.

— The problem of the diploma, that is to say the means of certifying professional capacity acquired in continued education, is not essentially different from the same problem as it occurs in full-time initial education. New difficulties arise however when it comes to developing arrangements adapted to students dispersed throughout the world of work.

— The educational implications of professional activity and the co-ordination of professional activity with studies carried out parallel to it could be a useful subject of further research.

— Teachers in full-time education should be prepared to help in the education of adult workers as well.

— Qualified staff in firms and administrations should be prepared to co-operate with teachers in implementing continued education.

— The institutions and equipment already available for full-time education will as far as possible be used for continued education.

— Purposeful permanent relations between university teachers and teachers in other higher education establishments and qualified representatives from social, economic and administrative organisations should be established and strengthened.

— The political aspects of the problem of continued education spring from a number of needs and policies :

- selection of a model for society and corresponding paths for the future,
- social measures intended to achieve equal opportunity of access to higher education,

- the need for teachers to extend their field of responsibility,
- financial measures to support a large-scale coherent system of continued education — establishment of contributions by the State, local authorities, firms and the persons concerned.

— Bearing in mind that continued education provides a second path, European standardisation of conditions of access to higher education, as far as initial education is concerned, would be a very good thing. If that cannot be achieved, conditions of admission generally applied in some countries will, when considered too severe, result in the surplus candidates going off to higher education establishments in other countries — the beneficiaries in such a situation will not be the best students but the richest.

CONCLUSION

Since 1968 the university, which has been rudely put in the pillory, has endeavoured to reform itself, but the reforms applied under the pressure of circumstances could not be properly co-ordinated ; a university searching for the right path is still a sorry spectacle, part building site part demolition site.

Evidently there was no real guiding light to help in the transition from what was to be rejected to what was being groped after.

We may well think that permanent education, with all the risks it entails as a long-term arrangement, offers a final objective and thus makes it possible to lay down guidelines for action. The Vienna Symposium showed that higher education, which should embrace both full-time students for initial training and working adults for continued training, is required to make far-reaching changes ; the changes needed are but poorly expressed in the facile formula of a transition from the education of an elite to mass education.

It is not enough to change the scale of higher education by putting up new buildings and recruiting large numbers of new teachers if thereby we spread throughout all levels of education first an illusion of facility and then the bitterness of disappointment.

Professor M. Marien of the University of Syracuse (United States) urges those responsible to remember that manual workers and incompetent intellectuals, badly informed citizens, irresponsible parents, parents exposed to the "shock of the future" cannot make a desirable society. It will be necessary not only for young people but especially for our oldest citizens to learn more, better and differently. For it is not so much young people who have most need of reformed education as those who have already left school and whose responsibility it is to shape the future.

Such reform is a vast undertaking ; it will require imagination, breadth of understanding and patience ; it is vitally important that it should be the subject of carefully co-ordinated European research and experiment.

As permanent education expands the university will probably change its nature. The quite recent introduction of the media, the growing opportunity provided for student responsibility, the maintenance of permanent relations between the world of higher education and research and those who hold positions of responsibility in the world of work, are factors which will help to do away with existing barriers, sweep away prejudice and help to establish a new scale of values ; thus contemplative workers — full-time students — and operational workers — continued education students — will be more closely associated with one another.

The mass university considered as a factory for the distribution of distilled knowledge and for the award of permanent diplomas will no longer exercise an exclusive appeal if knowledge ant its recognition are accessible along other less artificial paths.

Just as the barriers between the world of work and the academic work will fall so national frontiers will no longer stand in the way of circulation and exchange within the new community of higher education and research.

The university of tomorrow will have no frontiers ; the authors of "Reflections for 1985" refer to it as an educational centre par excellence where citizens will come to obtain new knowledge throughout their lives ; even part of their leisure time may be spent there in acquiring the knowledge to which they aspire, provided the appropriate pre-conditions are fulfilled — adaptability and attractiveness.

It was these pre-conditions which the Vienna Symposium tried to clarify.

TOWARDS A EUROPEAN POLICY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

by Mr. L. TONCIC-SORINJ,
Secretary General of the Council of Europe

This meeting of parliamentarians who, in the various member States, are concerned with policy decisions concerning higher education, is potentially of great importance, at the national and at the European levels. In all countries of Europe we are at present confronted with a situation of unprecedented growth in enrolments to post-secondary education : an ever-increasing number of students are demanding admission to universities and colleges. This expansion has led to an equally unprecedented growth in public expenditure on higher education. This raises a first problem, with which all national parliaments have to cope : How far can we afford to go on financing the expansion of higher education in view of the legitimate claims of the other sectors of education such as pre-school, primary and secondary, and adult education ? Furthermore, what priorities must be set when deciding on the overall size of the education budget as compared to that of other public services like those concerned with social security, health and environment ?

In many member States we are already witnessing a situation in which the limits to further radical expansion of the present system of higher education seem to have been reached. A number of countries have had to introduce a *numerus clausus* to limit access of students to certain faculties and study courses. At the European level this development has had the unwelcome effect of spreading the *numerus clausus* from country to country. Students who cannot for instance gain admission to a medical school in one country tend to seek admission to such studies in another ; in this way the overcrowding of universities and, as a consequence, the *numerus clausus* are exported from one country to the other. We all adhere to the principle that in each European country "every student who seeks post-secondary education should be able to find a fully acceptable opportunity". But how far can we maintain this principle in future in view of the scarcity of financial and personnel resources which must set a limit to the exponential growth of higher education which we have witnessed since the 1950s ? Where exactly should the dividing line be drawn between justified and unjustifiable expansion ?

At the same time *these problems of expansion are linked to the more complex problems of reform.* Student unrest is a widespread phenomenon. It has emerged in the advanced and affluent universities of North America, permeated Europe and Japan, probably also to Eastern countries, and spread to Latin America and almost all other countries of the third world. Public opinion, and with it parliamentarians of all political parties, have been alarmed by anarchist activities of radical minorities which have abused the academic freedom of universities to prepare for violent revolution. We all feel that the stage has now been reached at which those who bear political responsibility for the peaceful evolution of our societies must intervene to stop such anarchist and violent activities. On the other hand it is obvious that the task with which we are confronted cannot consist only in maintaining law and order at the universities ; we must also ensure their progress and further development. This raises the problem of where the dividing line should be drawn between repression of violence and promotion of new insights into the overall development of society and of new value structures in this changing world of ours.

The reform of post-secondary education can be achieved only if there is agreement on the guiding principles of the reform. Such agreement is, in my opinion, at present about to be reached in Europe. It is becoming more and more apparent that the guiding principles of educational reform can be found only in the new notion of permanent or recurrent education which your Committee, under the able chairmanship of Rector J. Capelle, supported by the Council for Cultural Co-operation and its various bodies, has so effectively developed. This concept will make it possible *to integrate all forms of post-secondary education into a life-long educational process* in which each individual will obtain the education which is best suited to his interests and abilities. Under this new concept post-secondary courses may be divided into units to be taken in a sequence which in many cases the student himself will determine. Periods of study and periods of practical work may alternate according to the student's needs and interests. Credits obtained in individual study units may be accumulated towards the final degree. In this way we will achieve a great flexibility of study programmes and will be able to ensure that the educational needs of the individual and of society are met where and when they arise. Return to the university for retraining and reconversion will become a normal feature in a system of life-long education and those bored adolescents who linger on today's

campus wil be replaced by mature, motivated and responsible students.

There is a further element which has to be taken into consideration in our discussions. It is *the impact of the rapid growth of research and technology* on the education and training which the universities and colleges are called upon to provide to the young generation, and to the society at large. The universities must remain the centres of excellence in which fundamental research is carried out on the basis of independent scholarship thus adding new knowledge to our common intellectual heritage. However, research has also assumed an ever-growing importance outside the university. Wherever political or economic management has to take decisions the researcher is being brought in as its junior partner. This is evidenced in the political field by the numerous committees in which researchers and civil servants share the responsibility of introducing more rationality into the process of decision-making. In all countries we are thus confronted with the problem of how to integrate this new function of university-based research into the traditional machinery of politics.

These are only a few aspects of the issues with which your meeting will have to deal today and tomorrow. There are certainly no uniform solutions to be offered for general application in all our member States. However, it is of paramount importance that we develop common lines of policy in the field of higher education in all European States. Throughout many centuries of European history *the universities have been one of the main elements of European unity,* and students and scholars have traditionally moved freely from one university to another finding the same intellectual environment and the same fundamental value structures at each. This European role of the university must be maintained and strengthened, and this can be done only if we can agree on common basic principles of national policies concerned with expansion and reform of post-secondary education.

In the documents which have been submitted to the meeting, you find the discussion paper which the Senior Officials Committee prepared for the Brussels Conference of European Ministers of Education in 1971. You may find in this paper useful guidance for your own discussion. You also have before you in the documents the resolution which the Conference adopted on policy and planning in post-secondary education. How far do you agree with this statement of the Ministers of Education? How far should this resolution be revised or amended in the light of recent developments? I feel that the documents of the Brussels Conference should be taken into consideration in your own discussions because a European higher education policy can only result from the common deliberation of parliamentarians, ministers and experts.

The role of the Council of Europe and of its Council for Cultural Co-operation in this process of elaborating common principles of convergent national policies in higher education can, in my opinion, be a very important one. The Council of Europe can provide the forum for discussion and the basis for common action at various levels. The Consultative Assembly and your Committee can deal with the short-term, as well as with the long-term, aspects of such policies from the point of view of the parliamentarian, who bears a national as well as a European responsibility. The Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education, the Secretariat of which is provided by the Council of Europe, can issue recommendations on all aspects of educational policy in Europe and in particular on the priorities which have to be set in educational co-operation. The Conference is at the same time a co-ordinating body which can advise the individual international organisations active in its geographical region on how best to meet the real needs of member governments in this field. The Council for Cultural Co-operation and its permanent Committee for Higher Education and Research can provide the necessary expertise for contributing to the solution of these tasks, particularly since the latter is, as you know, composed of representatives of universities and colleges on the one hand, and of governmental delegates on the other.

It is for your Committee and the Consultative Assembly to give political guidance to these various bodies and thus to ensure the convergence of national policies and the further development of post-secondary education in Europe. It is only by such a close and fruitful co-operation between parliamentarians, ministers and experts, at the national and at the European levels, that we will be able to meet the challenge of our time and find new and forward-looking solutions to our problems in this field.

This *co-operation in elaborating common policies* of post-secondary education in Europe must be guided by objectives which can be reached in the near future. There is general agreement that one of the main objectives in this field is to increase the mobility of students, teachers and researchers and thereby to establish the European intellectual community which must parallel the economic community. In this connection, I would like to recall that, as you know, the United Kingdom Government has recently taken a remarkable initiative

and offered fifty post-graduate fellowships to scholars from other countries of the European cultural community. If this initiative were taken up by all other member governments, we could easily arrive at some three hundred such fellowships which could annually be awarded to distinguished young academics from all over Europe to pursue their studies and research in a European country other than their own. In this way, we could create a truly European *élite* based on academic merit and experience gained abroad. I would therefore like to join Rector Capelle in appealing to all parliamentarians here present and through them to all national parliaments to examine this proposal and to find the ways and means to set up a common European scheme of post-graduate fellowships. This British initiative might, in my view, serve as a model for a similar scheme in the cultural domain. European unity is not only a question of politics and economics. These must be paralleled by the determination to unite all our resources and mobilise all our imagination to build up the European intellectual and cultural community. We have no time to lose — if Europe cannot become more than an economic community, it will cease to be a community at all.

DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION STRUCTURES

by Professor W. TAYLOR,
Director, University of Bristol School of Education

Introduction

I have been asked to talk about structures for post-secondary education. I welcome the emphasis the organisers have placed upon the discussion of structures. As I hope to show, agreement is emerging concerning certain principles that might guide the further development of post-secondary education in Europe. But there is less clarity concerning the institutional forms in which these principles might be embodied, and the procedural steps that are necessary in order to promote the evolution of these forms.

I want to divide my talk into four sections. In the first I shall list some of the points of principle that have emerged in recent years from national and international discussions of post-secondary education. I shall then go on to make some generalisations about how member States have sought to implement these principles in their post-secondary policies. I shall argue that although there are reasons for optimism concerning the extent to which we have been able to convert principles into practice, there is a danger that short-run solutions to certain immediate problems and difficulties may hazard the possibility of successfully bringing about appropriate structural and institutional change. Finally, I want to suggest that the concepts of permanent education and recurrent education offer a valuable approach to the problem of evolving a long-term strategy for the reform of post-secondary education.

Developmental principles

It seems to be generally accepted that the overall provision of opportunities in post-secondary education will be determined by the principle that (as the United Kingdom Robbins Committee put it) *courses should be available for all those who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them, and who wish to do so.* Two caveats must be entered at this point. Manpower considerations remain dominant in determining the numbers pursuing certain professional courses, such as teacher training and medicine. Furthermore, the so-called principle of "social demand" or "private demand" that I just enunciated, whilst it implies the availability of *some* kind of course, *somewhere*, does not require that the provision of particular courses and the size of particular institutions will be wholly determined by demand. In other words, a numerus clausus can exist in specific sectors without prejudicing the principle. Whilst this is in accordance with the way in which the United Kingdom Robbins Committee defined social demand, it does not quite meet the Norwegian Ottesen Committee's formulation, viz. that "... all who seek (post-secondary education) should be able to find a *fully acceptable opportunity* at the academic level for which they are qualified".

The second general principle that can be identified concerns *equality of access*. There is general agreement that all those who are capable of benefiting from post-secondary education must have the

opportunity to qualify themselves for entry to appropriate courses, and that access shall not be denied on the basis of criteria such as race, colour, poverty, social class, regional origin or religion.

Yet social disparities in participation in post-secondary education are everywhere large, and there have been few signs of any substantial diminution in the importance of such factors during recent decades. The sons and daughters of upper class, professional and middle class families are everywhere over-represented in terms of the proportion of the male labour force from the same strata, and youth from working class and lower class families are everywhere under-represented. Statements of intent concerning equality of access and attempts by means of financial measures to improve the chances of working class youth have met with comparatively little success (Mosteller and Moynihan 1972; Little and Smith 1972). It seems clear that the roots of inequality lie much further back in the educational and social system, and that reforms of admissions policies at age eighteen are unlikely to have any substantial impact on such deeply rooted social tendencies.

In a number of countries, the *proportion of women enrolling* in university or non-university post-secondary education has shown a substantial increase, but there are no very clear associations between this and the overall expansion of opportunity. Nonetheless, it remains true that in some three-quarters of European countries, men still have two to four times the chance of women to follow courses of post-secondary education [OECD 1971 (i)].

Thirdly, most countries appear to have recognised that continuing improvements in the quality of primary and secondary education, a projected rise in the proportion of each age group that attains the necessary qualifications for post-secondary education, greater personal affluence, demographic trends and, despite short-term fluctations, a continuing high private rate of return from post-secondary education, are all likely to require *continuing expansion* of provision in the 1970s. In many countries such expansion is unlikely to be at such a rapid rate as characterised the previous decade, but it will nonetheless be substantial.

Fourthly, in determining the scale and nature of expansion, greater attention is being given to the pressures that increasing demand places upon public expenditure, and especially to the opportunity costs involved, i.e. the other possibilities foregone. Among 16 European countries recently surveyed, only one devoted more than 20 % of total public expenditure to education, a further 6 spent between 15 and 20 %, 7 between 10 and 15 % and 2 spent less than 10 %. On the basis of extrapolation of present trends to 1980, it has been argued that of these 16 countries, 8 or 9 would be devoting more than 20 % of public expenditure to education and some even exceeding 30 %. Such figures must indicate the possibility that if demand and unit costs increase, education will be demanding a share of national resources that will almost certainly give rise to resistance from other sectors of the economy.

But the problem is not simply one of overall educational expenditure. Within such expenditure, post-secondary education poses particular problems. In a recent speech, the Secretary of State for Education in the United Kingdom has pointed out that an annual growth of 6 % is necessary to maintain existing opportunities for those with the required qualifications who seek places in higher education. Such a growth rate would account for nearly half the projected increase of expenditure on education over the next 10-year period. This would necessarily pre-empt possibilities for improvements elsewhere in the education service. Among the opportunity costs might be the renovation of school buildings, the provision of longer and more systematic in-service training of teachers, the improvement of teacher/pupil ratios, and more expenditure on non-teaching staff and equipment. It is coming to be recognised that anticipated benefits from alternative forms of expenditure must be calculated, and decisions concerning growth in post-secondary education must necessarily take account of such calculations.

Fifth, there appears to be a growing measure of agreement that post-secondary education cannot be thought of as the period of three or five years of full-time study following upon the successful completion of secondary education and terminating, for all except that proportion of students who continue with highly specialised post-graduate studies and research, at around the age of 22 or 23. The need for a *broader conception* follows from the nature and pace of technological and social change, which render skills obtained in the first two decades of life obsolescent long before the individual's working life is over, from the episodic character of personal development, and from the need to provide for those who, through lack of motivation, absence of appropriate opportunities, or personal circumstances, were denied post-secondary education at an earlier stage. All this has given rise to the principle that post-secondary education should be organised in such a way as to stimulate the student's desire and capacity for the

subsequent refreshment and up-dating of his knowledge and skills, that it should provide suitable courses and financial support whereby adult students may undertake initial, post initial and mid-career training and education, that it should embody flexible entry requirements, and that it should be characterised by appropriate modes of examination and assessment.

Sixth, there is a desire to *minimise differences of status between institutions* by, for example, ensuring that qualifications of equal standing are awarded for courses of the same duration and level, irrespective of where they have been pursued, and facilitating the transfer of students and course credits between institutions. In the words of a recent OECD document, "The urgent question, in all member countries, is how best to develop new structures for planning and control which promote diversity without creating new kinds of discontinuity".

This list of six principles — social demand, equality of access, expansion of facilities, attention to problems of opportunity cost, the implementation of life-long education, and the promotion of diversity without discontinuity — is intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive.

Structures of post-secondary provision

I have argued elsewhere that there are broadly eight kinds of institutional development that need to be incorporated within any valid model of institutional change on the European level (Taylor 1971). First, the last ten years have seen the creation of many *new universities*, which have in common their full and unequivocal official status as university institutions : entrance standards and course requirements that are legally similar to those that exist elsewhere in the country concerned ; the right to award their own academic degrees or to present candidates for a national degree ; and a level of research activity, multi-faculty or multi-subject structure and a basis of financing that is the same as that of existing universities. Many of these new institutions have been very innovative in their organisation of faculties and departments, and the structure and content of their degree and diploma courses.

Second, a number of *new universities have been created from existing structures*, either by division or amalgamation (as in Paris, Louvain, Brussels, Newcastle and elsewhere) or by the upgrading of existing non-university institutions. With the traditional university as the predominant model of post-secondary education there has been a tendency for other kinds of institution at this level to seek and to obtain full university status. Whilst this may help to create higher standards and a dynamic sense of purpose, it can also lead to neglect of the kinds of work for which the institution was originally founded in favour of more advanced study and an involvement in research, and thus a failure to satisfy institutional objectives.

Third, many countries have established *new non-university institutions for post-secondary studies*, again either by upgrading from existing institutions for adult or technical studies, or by providing new structures within which high level post-secondary courses are provided of shorter duration than a normal university programme of studies. The French Instituts universitaires de Technologie and the Norwegian District Colleges are examples of this type of development.

Fourth, there has been the *creation of new structures by the federal association of new and existing institutions*. The Danish University Centres, and the German Comprehensive University, represent an attempt to create a unified structure within which there can be a substantial diversity of courses and levels of provision.

Fifth, there have been efforts to set up *institutional frameworks which offer university level study through correspondence, television, radio, vacation courses and local and regional tutoring and supervision*. The most substantial such development has been the United Kingdom Open University, which is now the largest university in the country, with over 40,000 students.

Sixth, there is in all countries a variety of *non-university vocational, technical and professional educational institutions*, that involve entrance requirements and/or course demands and/or qualifications and awards that are generally regarded as making fewer intellectual demands than university institutions, and which prepare for a somewhat lower initial occupational level than university courses.

Seventh, the development of *teacher education*, partly in response to a chronic shortage of teachers in many member countries during the fifties and sixties, led to an expansion of teacher training facilities on a scale that has made a substantial contribution to the overall numbers of students following courses of post-secondary education. In many countries (e.g. Finland and the Federal Republic of Germany) there has been a move to bring teacher education closer to the universities. It has indeed been argued that, since in a fully developed

system of permanent or recurrent education all the adult members of the "learning society" assume teaching roles, there should be much more general provision of courses on pedagogy and communications than exist at the present time. The upgrading to which I have already referred in relation to the creation of new universities and non-university type post-secondary institutions has been equally prominent in the field of teacher education, and many former teacher training colleges are now able to award degrees to their students and to provide courses other than those leading to a career in the classroom.

Finally, there have been many developments in the provision of *adult, in-service and post-work education*. These again, are so varied as to defy ready categorisation and they are in some respects linked to other developments such as the Open University and new patterns of technical education.

There have been several attempts to summarise all this diversity of institutional change in terms of a limited number of models. For example, Professor Burton Clarke of Yale University has recently put forward the idea that there are really two polar models among non-university institutions, which he has labelled "the alternative university" and "the first tier college" [OECD 1971 (ii)]. What Clarke calls *"the alternative university"* is most clearly embodied in the English binary system, where polytechnics and other post-secondary institutions compete with traditional universities and provide courses that lead to both first and higher degrees. It is intended that the graduates of such institutions will compete for positions of major responsibility and high status with graduates from traditional universities.

The *"First tier college"* is very different. It can take various forms, either recruiting all the students entering higher education, and serving as a screening and selecting device for subsequent stages, or providing for only short programme terminal students through courses which have immediate vocational relevance, or some combination of the two. A recent report on post-secondary education in the United States, where the "first tier college" has been extensively adopted, and where the Carnegie Commission has recommended that substantial further development of this kind is required, has claimed that junior and community colleges are being transformed into :

> "amorphous, bland, increasingly large, increasingly State dominated two-year institutions which serve a number of interests other than that of their own students ... Academic leaders in four year colleges and universities see them as buffers which will allow their institutions to preserve their 'academic integrity' and concentrate on what they like best. High school officials see them as institutions which can relieve high schools of the burden of preparing students for meaningful careers. The public sees them as fulfilling a major social commitment to educational opportunities for all — without realising that the majority of college students never complete their course of study" (Newman 1971).

The report urges a change of course, in which the short cycle institutions would find their own mission, and would no longer act as streaming and sifting mechanisms for the university proper.

All this highlights the problem of reconciling unity and diversity, of ensuring that there are opportunities for transfer of students and of credits between institutions and courses, whilst at the same time making it possible for non-university type institutions to find their own mission and to avoid becoming dominated by traditional university ideologies. It is impossible to avoid the feeling that in some countries, policy makers have almost given up hope of changing these ideologies, and believe that the best prospects for reform in post-secondary education is in the development of alternative courses and institutions, resulting in an even more selective, elitist and, possibly, irrelevant university sector.

Recent papers by the OECD Secretariat have proposed a somewhat more complex *four-fold classification* of post-secondary development. This comprises the integrated comprehensive university model, within which all the previously separated forms of short cycle and long cycle, academic and vocational courses and institutions are unified ; the binary model, in which the separation between university and non-university provision is retained, but the non-university sector is given opportunities to compete with the universities ; the combined model, in which the university and non-university sectors co-exist with close linkages, mobility of students and teachers being facilitated and encouraged, and finally, the first cycle multi-purpose college model, resembling Clarke's "first tier college" whereby everyone intending to pursue studies after secondary school has to pass through a first stage short cycle course on leaving school.

Models of this kind are useful in indicating certain general tendencies. But however simple or complex the categorisations we employ in trying to describe what has been happening in Europe during the past ten or twenty years, it is difficult to claim that it all adds up to any very coherent or well

thought-out *system* of post-secondary provision. Today's discussions of permanent and recurrent education represent an attempt to incorporate a wide variety of institutions and courses within a more clearly articulated framework, one which has greater relevance to the likely needs of society and the economy, and to the way in which individual motives and aspirations develop.

The coming crisis in post-secondary education

What to an actor looks like an encouragingly half full theatre can to a manager or backer look like one that is depressingly half empty. In the same way, developments in post-secondary education over the past twenty years can be viewed either as a triumph over many kinds of financial, political and academic adversity, or as a build-up to a series of major problems, the full dimensions and import of which have yet to be recognised and faced. But I detect a certain tiredness with talk about educational crises. Just as newspapers now need a disaster a day to maintain their readers' interest, so educationists and conference organisers seem to generate a crisis a year in order to fill their halls and the pages of their journals. What justification is there for talking about *another* crisis ?

I want to suggest that we are at present facing problems of *legitimacy* and problems of *expectation* that, despite apparent calm on the campuses, *do justify the reference to crisis*. The most obvious and striking developments in post-secondary education in the sixties were largely quantitative ; between 1955 and the end of the sixties numbers of students doubled or more than doubled in most European countries. This was not simply a response to demographic trends. It represented a major increase in the proportion of youth who were desiring and obtaining places in universities and other forms of post-secondary education. It imposed very substantial pressures indeed upon these institutions and upon the systems of which they formed a part, and was a major factor in bringing about some of the institutional reforms that are still working themselves out. In every European country attempts to forecast and control the effects of further growth by reforms and systematic planning all followed, rather than preceded, the period of maximum expansion ; it has taken time to recognise that quantitative trends are creating qualitatively different problems.

The tendency for a large number of boys and girls to complete a full period of secondary education, which gave rise to the explosion of demand for post-secondary study, is still continuing. The scope for further growth is enormous, since in most European countries only something in the order of a quarter of the population of the corresponding age group at present obtain secondary school leaving certificates that entitle them to post-secondary study.

In those countries where attempts have been made to extrapolate present tendencies in what is called "the secondary survival" and "secondary transition" rate, together with demographic trends and other factors, it seems likely that the *demand for post-secondary places might double again by the early 1980s.*

Despite the emergence, especially in the last decade, of alternative forms of post-secondary course and institution, it is university type study that has recorded the most rapid rate of growth. Whilst in several European countries, non-university type higher education now constitutes up to one half total post-secondary provision, there has been a general trend for university and non-university expansion to keep pace with each other during the period under review.

We have told ourselves that all this is all right because for the past twenty years there has been in most developed countries a shortage of most kinds of highly qualified manpower, and in any case, more higher education contributes to the kind of growth that provides additional employment opportunities.

We are now beginning to reap what we have sown. During the past two years student unrest has been pushed from agendas and front pages by a *concern with graduate unemployment and the relevance of studies.* Just as the granaries have begun to fill, the kind of economic growth which generates a demand for highly qualified manpower has become more difficult to achieve, and more seriously, even unfashionable. Prophets of ecological doom, experts on resource depletion, and political radicals have combined to produce a climate of opinion in which a high rate of economic growth and a burgeoning GNP are disreputable ; what was once indicative of social health and vitality has become a symbol of some kind of moral degeneracy. Graduates have been finding it harder to secure the types of employment for which they see themselves qualified, and they have been raising their voices in complaint. Because they and the social groups from which they come are politically significant, and because there are those who fear the existence of an unemployed or frustrated instelligentsia as an actual or potential threat to social order, their complaints have evoked a sympathetic response. Yet in most countries the numbers of

such graduates who want jobs and do not obtain them is still quite small. What is involved here is not so much a crisis of employment, but a crisis of expectation.

When I went to university 25 years ago I was one of the only two or three per cent of the relevant age group. Given a minimally acceptable level of diligence and social competence, I and my contemporaries could reasonably look forward to some kind of high status professional employment. But today we are providing post-secondary education for 10, 15, even 20 % of our 18 to 22 year olds. The demand for highly qualified manpower has plainly increased in the past 25 years, the proportion of white collar and professional jobs has certainly grown. But not to the extent that all of today's graduates can expect to obtain the kinds of work that was available to the much smaller proportion of those who graduated in the previous generation.

Some people appear therefore to have concluded that the time has come to call a halt to the growth of opportunities in higher education. They appeal to the burgeoning costs of the enterprise, and the strains that these costs impose on public finance. In the United Kingdom, for instance, the cost per place at universities and colleges of education is approximately ten times that per place in a primary school ; furthermore, for courses of comparable length and standard, costs in non-university higher education are not significantly different from those in the university sector. In some cases they may even be higher. But it will not be possible to call a halt to expansion if the basis of policy continues to be "private demand", and it is arguable that in democratic societies no other basis is possible. Although the growth of demand may be influenced by employment difficulties, it is unlikely that these will have any great long-term effect (Ashby 1971). As the quality of primary education is enhanced, as the proportion of youth completing a full secondary education grows, so the desire to pursue post-secondary studies will be further stimulated. But *what is clear is that the employment and status expectations of the products of such post-secondary education will need substantial modification if widespread frustration and fears of graduate unemployment are to be avoided.* To some extent, the existence of such fears and frustrations is a consequence of continuing to educate and train the majority of our post-secondary students within an institutional framework which has for long been the nursery and training ground of a social, economic and political elite. It is hardly surprising if traditional university courses generate false expectations ; the whole curriculum and social organisation of universities is designed for a task quite different from that which they are called upon to perform for the majority of their students today.

What, then, to do ? We are now being urged to give attention to the need for greater "relevance" in post-secondary studies. Students and employers alike are asking that studies should have some kind of demonstrable vocational relevance. To use the English colloquialism, they should offer some kind of "meal ticket". Those who fear the social and political influence of large numbers of unemployed and under-employed sociologists, philosophers and lawyers have joined in the cry for relevance, remembering that at least in the United Kingdom, students in professional schools are generally short-haired and well behaved. To the extent that they are in evidence during periods of university unrest, they are usually to be found on the other side of the radicals' barricades. Yet this is an essentially short-sighted view. Our knowledge of social and technological change, our capacity to predict future manpower requirements, and the match between educational provision and employment opportunities are not such as to enable us to plan courses that are "relevant" in the sense that some contemporary critics demand.

Our experience with manpower planning in the sixties should have convinced us that we cannot plan the scale and pattern of post-secondary provision in accordance with any narrowly conceived interpretation of economic and occupational "needs" (Ahamad, Blaug *et al.*, 1972). The basis of decision making, as in most other fields of social policy, must remain political, its direction determined by a subtle combination of attitudes and opinions about education, calculations of electoral advantage, and the interplay of sectorial and pressure group interests. Post-secondary education is in demand, not simply because it confers personal economic benefits, but because an increasing proportion of the population values it as a good in itself. Most European countries are going through a transition stage in which a kind of educational experience formerly reserved for an elite of money or of talent, is beginning to be provided on a mass scale. They are increasingly having to recognise that the desire for post-secondary education may come to be diffused even more widely through their populations, and there is even talk of universal higher education.

All this is not, and I must emphasise this point, just a matter of better jobs for individuals and faster economic growth for societies. Putting the matter at its simplest, can we really be satisfied with a system in which the majority of youth

leave the educational system at the point when their knowledge of the conflict between England and Spain in the XVIth Century is limited to a vision of brave British seamen chasing galleons up the channel, when they have but little comprehension of how government works, and what collective bargaining means, and why revolutions can never make a completely fresh start? There is little hope of creating the kind of peaceful, civilised, person-centred world that most of us want on the basis of education as limited and deficient as that. More, much more is required. Yet one thing is certain, we should not be trying to provide a traditional university course for the very much enlarged proportion of the population that will be demanding, and for whom any civilised society will try to provide, post-secondary education. Something quite new is needed.

We are all of us heirs to a *diversity of traditions and institutional forms*, and very seldom are we in a position to sweep away what we already have and *create a completely new structure*. Indeed, despite the wishes and the hopes of the more apocalyptically minded members of our societies, it is rather doubtful if we should gain very much from such an opportunity. We must start from where we are.

The core of the problem can be stated simply. How do we continue to furnish an environment in which excellence in research and scholarship will be preserved, and to which scholars and research workers of the first rank will be attracted, within which the new knowledge that is so essential to the achievement of the technological and social progress of society will be developed and nurtured, whilst at the same time continuing to expand provision, democratise both access and internal government, and satisfy the needs of groups of students who intellectually, socially and in terms of motive may be very different from those with whom we have been accustomed to deal?

How do we reconcile what Martin Trow called the "autonomous" and the "populist" functions of higher education? The shaping of mind and character, the cultivation of aesthetic sensibilities, broad human sympathies and capacity for critical and independent judgment, the creation of new knowledge through basic research and scholarship, the selection, formation and certification of members of elite groups — all these "involve values and standards that are institutionalised in the universities and elite private colleges, and are maintained by them autonomously and even in resistance to popular demands and sentiments". On the other side, there is the populist function of providing something to study, somewhere, for all those secondary school graduates who want to go on, and "the provision of useful knowledge and service" to nearly every group and institution that demands it (Trow 1972).

How do we do all these things without appearing to provide inferior substitutes for what many groups in society continue to regard as "real" post-secondary education, and whilst keeping open for as long as possible opportunities for all those who show the necessary capacity to be able to benefit from courses and contribute to research of the highest standard?

None of us here is naïve enough to assume that the structural and institutional developments that have taken place in European countries during the past 15 years are the result of careful planning in accordance with clearly articulated developmental principles. For the most part, we have been responding to events in an ad hoc fashion. What we call the "system" of post-secondary education is all too likely to be a mixture of the traditional and the aggressively new, the carefully planned and the expedient, the elegant and the ramshackle. We have modified and made do, merged and assimilated, prodded and encouraged, pushed and squeezed. Yet whilst the realities of political life make it clear that our objectives and the systems to which they give rise will seldom be as tidy or as logical as we might wish, there is now a wider recognition of the value of attempting to introduce some coherence into our planning, and in trying to conceptualise and articulate the relationships between the diverse courses, institutions and programmes with which we deal. Let me end by saying a few words about the basis of such planning, particularly as it involves notions of permanent education and recurrent education.

Permanent education as a strategy for planning

Much of the contemporary discussion of such concepts as recurrent education, lifelong education and permanent education is vitiated by a failure to recognise the strength and pervasiveness of the social forces which stand in the way of achieving full equality of access to post-secondary education. In particular, there is a danger that advocacy of recurrent education will be seen as embodying the philosophy of "jam tomorrow". The claim that a post-secondary course in a short cycle institution, followed by a period of employment and subsequent opportunities for further study still offers a route to the top, will have to be proved and tested before it is acceptable to secondary school

leavers and their parents. Obviously enough, there is implied here the need for changes in employment, personnel, promotion and staff development policies of a far-reaching kind. *Unless the professions, commerce and industry are able to institute the necessary reforms, the alternative route is all too likely to be seen as ending in a swamp, and the high road will become even more congested than at present.*

Another weakness is the absence of adequate studies of the costs and benefits of introducing a pattern of recurrent education. I have seen it argued that there might be major savings to be derived from the willingness of young people to defer post-compulsory education and training until a later stage of life. I do not believe this. In countries where a full secondary education is universal, and a large proportion of the qualified 18 to 22 age group is already in colleges or university, it may be sensible to think of the savings that would result from providing shorter and cheaper first cycle courses for the additional numbers that might be moving on from secondary school during the next decade. But there are few European countries that are as yet in this position, and I doubt very much if provision for a return to full-time study at later stages of life will do much to slow down the increasing tendency for young people to remain at school until 18 and to wish to continue their education after this age. In any case, the economic and social value of young people entering the labour market at an earlier age is problematic ; depending on the level of technological development achieved or envisaged, an inadequate level of general and specialist education at the point of entry to employment could well be a major social handicap.

The case for permanent education cannot be made solely in cost benefit terms. Yet at time of burgeoning expenditure, it is inevitable that those responsible for policy and political decision making need assurances concerning the benefits that might follow from the introduction of recurrent education as the structuring principle of the educational system as a whole, rather than, as at present, as the superimposition of certain additional opportunities on top of existing structures. Preliminary cost benefit analyses of recurrent education suggest that it will have a very low rate of return (Garnicott 1971 ; on the decline of learning capacity with age, see Russel 1971). It may well be that for social and political reasons it will come to be so highly valued by the community that high costs and low economic benefits will be acceptable ; it remains to be seen if the case that can be made for recurrent education as the basis of future structures will carry conviction among those responsible for education and social policy.

By now it is obvious to everybody that the educational system is not autonomous, that the relationships between educational provision, the normative structure of society, and the state and progress of the economy are real and important, that educational objectives such as equality of opportunity and the establishment of a system of permanent education require major political initiatives and radical social changes, and that, in democratic countries, the political feasibility of some of our educational goals is highly questionable. Yet in how many specialised discussions of educational issues is any real effort made to place desired objectives and recommended procedures in their proper context of political and social action ? The task is difficult enough at the national level ; a realistic overall perspective is even more difficult to achieve internationally. Quite apart from the fact that we inhabit different linguistic communities, most of us, however well informed about formal structures and the background of recent debates are seldom sufficiently sentitive to those finer nuances of opinion and attitude that exist in other countries, of a kind which sometimes make apparently plausible recommendations — such as, for example, some of those of the recent James report on teacher education in the United Kingdom — unacceptable to many people in their own national context.

I hope that I have said enough about what I regard as weaknesses in discussions of recurrent education and of post-secondary reform in the context of permanent education to make clear that I am by no means uncritical of these notions. Yet, at the same time, I believe that it is only by a willingness to plan in terms of such ideas that we shall overcome our present problems, including the crises of legitimacy and of expectation to which I have already made reference.

We need the careful analysis of the economist and the statistician, but our problems do not disappear when we hand them over to the specialist. Sometimes we must be willing to step outside the orderly realm of the economist's models into that more uncertain, contingent and ambiguous real world in which we must often agree to makeshift solutions, reach partial compromises, take decisions on the basis of inadequate data. In such a world, the concepts of permanent education and of recurrent education designate, not so much systems of educational provision which have been designed ab initio, but *overall planning strategies* in terms of which particular decisions and policy issues may

evolve and be evaluated. Educational change is nearly always piecemeal in character. What is important is to ensure that each proposal, each new step, is in accordance with a coherent pattern of development, a pattern which embodies certain generally accepted principles yet which is itself continually under discussion and review. In each of our countries, there is a need to build models of an educational system which embodies the principles of permanent education, with a view to identifying more clearly the connections that exist between courses and institutions at different levels, the gaps in provision, the inter-connections between education and occupation, the significance of education in the normative structure of society. Whilst much of the data needed to construct such a model is as yet not available, there would be heuristic value in providing its skeletal outlines, if only to focus the attention of educationists and policy makers on the global significance of the piecemeal changes and structural reforms with which they are concerned.

It is in this respect that the papers and discussions initiated by the Council of Europe, by OECD, UNESCO, the European Communities and by many other international agencies have helped in enabling us to make generalisations about the direction and pace of educational development. At their best, such generalisations can help us to perceive the common elements in the ways our different systems are developing, can give us a new perspective on the problems of our own system, can enable us to benefit from the experience of other countries, and can help us to evaluate the likely consequences of our own policies.

Some questions for discussion

If the principles of post-secondary development that I have suggested now command general assent and are related to the kinds of structural and institutional changes that have been taking place, we are left with a series of questions which I hope discussion may help us to answer.

The *first* of these concerns how we might best go about the business of adopting the notions of permanent education and recurrent education as overall planning strategies for the future development of post-secondary education in our respective countries. I emphasise planning strategy since I believe that it is in this respect that many of the ideas that are currently being canvassed in international gatherings and elsewhere are likely to be most fruitful. I have to confess that I am not particularly hopeful about the possibilities of our being able to reconstruct the whole of post-secondary education so radically as to enable us to claim that it constitutes a *system* of permanent or recurrent education. Our systematising is nearly always of the post hoc, ergo, propter hoc variety.

Second, given the costs involved, are we sufficiently convinced of the claims of post-secondary education for a larger share of public expenditure, as to be able to persuade our political and administrative colleagues of the necessity for policies directed towards continued growth? Is there any real alternative in democratic countries to the principle of "private demand" as the basis for post-secondary provision? To what extent, by appropriate guidance and counselling, and by the provision of "recurrent" opportunities at a later stage, can we modify the likely scale of demand?

Third, do we recognise with sufficient clarity the dangers in responding to present anxieties concerning graduate unemployment by creating large numbers of allegedly "relevant" short cycle courses which involve immediate vocational specialisation? I have argued that this is an extremely short-sighted stance, and one that will serve us very badly in the future. Instead, we need to be able to devise kinds of post-secondary education that in accordance with the principles of permanent education recognise the high degree of substitutability of qualifications, that give the individual a base of knowledge and motivation which will enable him to go on learning throughout life, and that generate backwash pressures encouraging appropriate kinds of post-compulsory secondary education, and avoiding the dangers of narrow specialisation in the upper reaches of the secondary school.

Fourth, is there a danger that present day reforms by concentrating on new institutions, especially those offering short cycle courses, will pay insufficient attention to the reform of university level studies, with a consequent threat to the possibility of alternative forms of post-secondary education developing their own mission, sense of worth and criteria of excellence?

Fifth, are the available mechanisms for the planning and co-ordinating of post-secondary provision in our various countries such as to enable us successfully to overcome the problems that undoubtedly face us during the next decade?

Finally, do we recognise tendencies in the crisis of morale and purpose that highly developed industrial nations are at present experiencing that will make it either easier or more difficult to carry through our policies in the field of post-secondary education? Anxieties about the quality of life,

attacks upon allegedly technocratic values, an awareness of difficulties in meeting the claims of under-privileged groups and of minorities, and the difficulty of maintaining a balanced position in a world economy, all have important implications for education. Unfortunately, the study of such value change is so inchoate and uncharted that it has attracted little attention from serious academics, many of whom prefer to travel within the safer terrain of an established specialist field. If by retreating into such specialisms we lose sight of the really significant issues, and choose as our social and political indicators only those issues which are manageable in terms of study and analysis, then it is all too likely that the future will catch us unawares. In this context, occasions such as this assume value, providing as they do opportunities to exchange information and opinion on the broadest front, and without the limitations of specialist frameworks of discourse.

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STUDENT UNREST AND STUDENT PARTICIPATION

by the late Professor B. E. INGELMARK *,
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Worry over the present and the future has been characteristic of young people all through the ages. The unrest which is to be found among our students is not therefore typical merely of our time. But the expression of their unrest has taken new and often serious forms.

The causes of this unrest are many and have no doubt changed over the years. In recent times the political situation, the wider recruitment of students, the economic conditions during and after university studies, the conditions at our universities together with the reduced contact between students and teachers, have probably been the most important factors.

Political causes

Young people are usually more radical than their elders. They want to change the established order of things. This attitude has probably become much stronger during the last ten or twenty years. A strong egalitarian movement has emerged. Through closer communications world problems have been

* We record with regret the recent death of Professor B. E. Ingelmark.

presented to the young with more intensity than ever before.

It has become natural for our students to strive for the removal of class barriers within their own countries and for equality between nations. This general egalitarian philosophy is something which students today also wish to introduce into our universities, in a way which to the older generation often seems both unrealistic and mistaken. They also take the same attitude towards the central authorities whose task it is to direct a country's higher education. These circumstances are, in my view, an important cause of student unrest in recent years.

Conditions at the university

Within the university it is necessary for the work at departmental level to be directed, with the help of staff meetings and chosen heads of department. This direction is often seen by the students as a wielding of power, without any real value. This leads to a negative and suspicious attitude, if the students do not have an opportunity to get to know the arguments behind the decisions made. Few things are therefore more important, to counteract unrest, than to allow the students insight into the working of the university at different levels.

As such insight can obviously only be given to a relatively small number of students, it is important that everything should be done to see that information for students is as good and objective as possible. Information requires large personnel and economic resources. In my opinion, however, the cost is well worthwhile if through information we can reduce student unrest at an early stage. Widespread unrest among students is so disturbing for all the work of the university that it costs much more than the diffusion of accurate information.

The time is long past when students treated their teachers with respect and spontaneous gratitude. Today's liberal educational methods have made young people in many parts of the world openly critical of their environment. This has a very definite value. But it also results in greater demands being placed on teachers, if the relationship between them and the students is to be good. Only through his knowledge and his ability to teach in an inspiring way, together with openness, can the teacher today establish a good relationship with his students.

The growing political awareness among students has resulted in their tending to assume that teachers are conservative and therefore also less attractive people. It is, however, important that teachers should not express their own political views in their actual teaching. It is indispensable to demand of the teachers the greatest possible objectivity in their work. Political discussions, which in themselves are valuable, should take place outside the actual teaching.

University conditions have also changed in recent years. The great increase in the number of students has usually not been followed by an equally rapid increase in the number of qualified teachers. This has meant that the junior staff have had to take over more of the teaching than before. At the same time *personal contact* between the highly qualified teachers and the students has been reduced. This may possibly have increased student unrest. In large groups of students the individual student does not, in fact, have the same feeling of security as before. He feels more like a number than an individual. In subjects where there are many students it is therefore desirable to divide them into smaller teaching groups. This leads to better personal contact, which increases the feeling of security and counteracts unrest.

A similar change has affected examinations. Formerly they were almost always oral, with a dialogue between student and teacher. Now this face to face situation has to a great extent been replaced by impersonal written examinations

The universities have had to expand considerably to meet the increase in student numbers. I personally do not favour the single campus system. The students feel herded together in a large agglomeration of buildings. There is limited scope for expression of individuality and some risk of irritation. It is better to place the various departments in separate buildings with a suitable distance between them, preferably arranged according to faculties. This makes students, and teachers as well, feel that they belong to their institution ; it creates solidarity and thereby calm. If unrest should occur in a department, the risk of its spreading is much less than in a large university city or on a crowded campus.

In the past, when recruitment to higher education was less widespread, students came from homes with a relatively similar background and intellectual outlook. Nowadays students come from all social levels. There are, in consequence, greater differences among students than previously, with regard to ways of life, ideas, cultural and political attitudes. This easily creates *conflicts between individual students or groups of students*, together

with a negative attitude towards the teaching staff. So far, the majority of the teachers have the same background as students had previously.

The increase in the number of students also means that the average intellectual level of the students is lower. This gives rise to teaching and method problems and there has been an increase in the number of students who do not complete their studies within an acceptable period of time. All this creates discontent and unrest among the students affected, if grants are made to depend on examination results as is the case in Sweden.

If we are to succeed in counteracting all this, we must ensure *an adequate flow of information to students*. When they have problems connected with their studies, advisers and appointments' officers must be readily available for them to consult. It is not enough that such persons should only be available at certain hours for consultation. People with problems often isolate themselves and loneliness tends to increase personal problems. It is therefore necessary for the student advisers and appointments' officers to take the initiative and contact students who have problems connected with their studies and help them to put them right.

Such difficulties are often accompanied by a neurosis which cannot be treated by student advisers. Here contact with fellow students can have a good effect, but it is often necessary to get help from social welfare workers and doctors. There must be an organisation within the university which can give prompt aid to students in such a situation.

A factor of the greatest importance is the co-ordination between *the level of knowledge of students leaving secondary school and the demands put on them when they begin their higher studies*. Reforms in the secondary schools have changed the profile and, to some extent, also lowered the standard of students' knowledge when they come to the university. University teachers are rather unwilling to lower the standard of their teaching so that it becomes a direct continuation of school studies. This is understandable, as they do not want students to leave the university with a lower standard than in the past. In Sweden no increase in the period of time allowed for study at the universities has been authorised by the authorities.

Students quite rightly see all this as a lack of understanding and bad organisation. It is necessary therefore to insist upon close contacts between the secondary school and the university in this respect. Without this, there will always be a negative attitude amongst the students.

Another significant factor is the students' attitude to their future professions when they begin their higher education. A fair number of students know what they want to be. They opt for a course which leads to their chosen profession. Their studies are motivated and they generally carry them out in a satisfactory way. There are not many signs of unrest amongst these students.

It is quite a different matter for school leavers who cannot decide what career they would like to follow after university. They feel insecure about their studies, hesitate over what subjects to read, have no definite aims, change subjects when they find that they are losing interest in them or that they cannot succeed in their studies. This group has increased not only absolutely but probably also relatively in recent years. These young people need time to mature during their studies; they also need advice on their work and future professions, without too much pressure from economic worries and threat of expulsion. It is within this group that opposition to teachers, universities and society thrives, even if the criticism is often voiced by gifted student representatives with good examination results. Greater attention should be paid to this problem than has so far been the case at many universities.

Another important factor is the *co-operation between higher education and society* to ensure that students' education is adjusted to the knowledge required by their future employers. This applies both to the public and to the private sector. This contact is relatively good when it is a question of easily defined professions such as those of engineers, economists, teachers, dentists, veterinary surgeons, etc. It is much worse in the field of public administration and in free enterprise management, above all in industry, the mass media, etc., where a satisfactory definition of professional training presents great difficulties. In these sectors, at least in my country, employers are not sufficiently well informed about the knowledge provided by higher education. They often prefer people with only secondary school education or its equivalents, people who have experience and who have received training in the firm. This reaction is unfortunate, partly because full use is not being made of the country's intellectual capacity and partly because it is difficult for those who have completed their studies to find work. Awareness of these problems causes unrest among the students.

The same effect is caused by uncertainty about the future of society. Conditions are changing faster than ever before and it is becoming increasingly difficult to foresee future developments.

Student unrest often results in loud student criticism of the educational system and society. This creates scepticism in other groups of society, who consider students to be a privileged, expensive and, to some extent, parasitical group.

Over and above the individual unrest which I have mentioned, there is also group unrest among students, which can only be removed by an adequate flow of information.

Possibilities and limits of the participation of students and junior staff

The possibilities and limits of the participation of students and junior staff on the various boards of a university depend to a great extent on the conditions prevailing in and the organisation of the university. These vary from country to country. Even so it should be possible to discuss three types of board at the following levels :

— At the lowest level in the organisation there is the educational unit, the department. It has a double function, namely to give higher education and direct research studies. In addition, qualified research is carried out there. For the educational work a department board is necessary.

— Our universities are usually divided into faculties or schools which cover the various fields in education and research. Each faculty consists of a number of departments. For the co-ordination of the education given there, some kind of faculty educational board is necessary.

— At the head of the university is the highest governing board — the council of the university.

On one board of the department there should be two different types of student, namely those students who have just arrived at the department and those who have taken one or more courses there. University teaching is of course strange to the student new to the university. He cannot successfully take part in all the discussions of the department board. However, it may be a good thing to have young students represented on such a board as they gain insight into the working of the department, which they can pass on to their fellow students. It is important that these students have the chance on such a board to express their views on methods of teaching.

The students on the board who have recently been taught at the department know what the courses are like and can see how they fit in with the rest of their education. Student representation on the boards of the departments gives students a feeling of security, as they can have their views put forward and thereby often influence the teaching in a positive way. Their views can also provide a stimulus for the teachers.

In my opinion the students should not have the right to decide about the appointments of teachers or other personnel or about financial matters in the department.

The junior staff consists of persons who for one or more years have been educated at the department and been successful in their studies. They are usually taking research courses at the department. These young people have therefore quite a good general view of higher education and at the same time they are likely to be on a friendly footing with the students. They should therefore be represented on the board. Through their presence they may be able to influence research teaching at the department.

It is questionable whether the junior staff should have any influence on the appointment of members of the senior staff and be allowed to do more than offer an opinion on financial matters.

Representatives of the students and junior staff on the department boards must recognise their responsibility to the group they represent and see to it that the group is kept informed at all times. It is therefore necessary for them to be elected by their entire group in a democratic manner. The senior staff of the department should not have any influence here.

The board of the department should be relatively small and not contain a majority of any one of the groups represented there : the senior staff, the junior staff, the students and other personnel.

Even if the board is small it should not deal with routine problems. These should be handed over to an experienced, well trained and administratively able member of the senior staff. If this irritating and ineffective procedure is not adopted there are often long discussions.

Representation of students and junior staff at the faculty level is difficult to analyse. The organisational structure varies greatly from country to country. In Sweden there was formerly only one real board, the faculty. The members of the faculty were the professors and the readers holding permament appointments. They had to take decisions on higher education, research studies, scientific questions, appointments to posts up to full professorships, faculty administration and expenditure.

Some years ago educational matters were transferred from this body to a special board, the faculty educational board. This consists of professors, readers, junior staff and students. Usually no one group has a majority here but an attempt has been made experimentally to vary the numbers representing the different groups.

Such a board has advantages. The faculty is freed of a large number of matters. The students gain insight into higher education and research studies. They can influence educational policy and inform their fellow students about the decisions taken. On certain boards a special sub-committee has been set up for research studies. As the young students have little interest in these problems and no competence for judging them, this sub-committee contains only representatives of the senior and the research staff. On the whole we are satisfied with this arrangement. It has disadvantages, however.

Contact between the faculty and the faculty educational board can be bad. The board finds it difficult to plan far ahead both for higher education and for research studies. As at the department level, it is important that the number of members on the board be kept low. Routine matters should be put in the hands of one or two persons. It has proved valuable to have the dean of the faculty on the educational board, preferably as chairman. In this way there is better co-ordination between the work of the faculty and the educational board.

With an organisation of this type there is no need for student or junior staff representatives on the faculty board.

Representation of students and junior staff on the council of the university is dependent on the university's freedom with respect to higher administrative and political authorities. The greater the freedom, the more important it is that the council should contain representatives of all categories within the university.

As the council is to govern the whole university it is important that its members should feel that they enjoy full confidence. The chairman, the rector or vice-chancellor, should therefore be chosen within the university. The council should also include the deans, who have been chosen by the faculties. Other representatives should also be chosen, in a democratic manner, by the groups which they are to represent. All members of the council should have collective responsibility for the action and the decisions taken. Such responsibility prevents unfounded argument and extreme proposals of a negative nature.

My experience of work on the council of the university of Gothenburg has always been good. For some years the council has consisted of the rector and pro-rector, the deans, the junior staff, other personnel and the students. The student representatives are usually fairly silent in discussions when they first become members of the council. They speak above all on matters which directly concern them. There is a great deal of solidarity among the students on the council and they have often decided their attitude before the meeting on questions of interest to them. This does not apply to the other groups. It is of special importance that no one group within the council should have a majority.

All talk about one man — one vote within the whole university and proportional representation on the council I consider an absurdity. Such a system with a large majority for the students, would mean that there would not be sufficient knowledge, experience and continuity within the council. The result would be that the council would not enjoy the confidence of the higher political authorities which give the university its resources. The university would lose the freedom of action which is necessary if education and research are to be satisfactory.

My experience of students on the council has shown me that their presence has led to a decrease in student criticism of decisions made there. This must chiefly be due to the information which student representatives on the council give their fellow students. By this means we have escaped a great deal of student unrest.

It should perhaps also be pointed out that with the exception of a few isolated occasions, there have not been any long, unsatisfactory and irritating discussions at council meetings with representatives of the junior staff, other personnel and students present.

My conclusion is therefore that it is wise to continue with the present composition of the council.

Representation of persons from outside the university

A university, with its education and its research functions, is obviously an important body in the community. Universities must not, as I have said before, be cut off from the secondary school or the community in general, which is where most of the students will go when they finish their studies at

the university. Widespread contacts with the community are therefore especially desirable.

It is difficult to say how these contacts should be achieved. It seems desirable to have special national boards outside the universities which give their general opinion on direct professional training, such as teaching, medicine, economics, etc. In Sweden we have such national bodies attached to central authorities, and also local bodies at the technical faculties.

On the other hand, the community is not represented on the university councils. In recent years attempts have been made to give the universities more and more freedom in the management of the resources placed at their disposal. This not only means increased responsibility but also demands wisdom and experience from the council. I feel that it would be a good thing if, when dealing with important questions of principle or economic problems in the council, we had the advice of a few experienced representatives of important sectors of the community in the region round the university, namely the local public administration and free enterprise. This applies to regional, as apart from national, decisions, which are made at the national level. Such a regional representation would have the following advantages :

— There would be constructive criticism of the education provided by the university.

— The university would be kept informed of future regional planning.

— The community would have greater understanding and knowledge of education and research at the university. By this means the students would be able to fit more easily into the community when they go out into professional life.

— If in future there are to be more refresher courses than there have been so far, which I think highly desirable, then it is important to have such contact with the community.

— In many courses of study it is necessary for the student to have practical experience during his time at the university. With the above-mentioned representation on the council it would be easier to have such training. Nowadays there is often a lack of willingness to give students a chance to get practical experience.

— University research often requires co-operation between research workers and various organisations or firms in society. Both sides profit greatly from this contact. Such co-operation ought to be encouraged.

— Contact between students and society is often faulty. If both parties were represented on the council, direct contact would be possible and this would be valuable.

The representatives of the community on a university council cannot be expected to have much experience or knowledge of the inner workings of the university. It is therefore desirable that these representatives should mainly take part in such business as I have suggested.

Co-operation between universities and other institutions of higher education

In many large towns in Sweden, but also in some small ones, there are separate specialised institutions or schools for post-secondary education. Such units have a tendency to be isolated from one another. The chief reasons for this state of affairs are probably the following.

People do not show the generosity necessary for good co-operation. Each unit is anxious not to lose its own freedom and has difficulty in finding flexible working forms. Moreover, each defends its identity and inner solidarity.

But there is no doubt that such co-operation can have advantages. As our knowledge continually increases, so the need grows for specialists in different fields. All universities or schools cannot manage to have such specialists. A pooling of specialist resources is of great importance for higher education and even more for research.

In the future there will probably be a need for more people of mixed academic disciplines. By this I mean that they will be the product of two administratively separate universities or schools. This arrangement can only succeed if both bodies work in close co-operation. It is in fact unrealistic to think of starting special schools for mixing various disciplines.

Teachers in higher education must have contact with research, even if they have little time to do independent research themselves. They must continually refer to the latest research in their subject if their teaching is to be efficient and up-to-date. But research demands large personal and material resources if it is to be of high quality. For economic reasons it is not possible to have such a research organisation in several units at the same place. Co-operation between them is therefore of great importance. The conditions for success are : a simple form of administration, people good at co-operating and the greatest possible freedom over expenditure.

Concluding remarks

Student unrest is one of the greatest difficulties we have had to struggle with at our universities over the last ten years. Even if I have tried to base my lecture on general principles, I have naturally founded my views chiefly on experience from my own country. We all need as much knowledge as possible about student unrest, for it will certainly exist in the future too and constitute a potential threat to the work of our universities.

In my opinion a certain influence of junior staff, students and other personnel on university activity is of value. The same is true of contact between the universities and society. But it is difficult to find the right methods and suitable levels. It is therefore necessary for us to have a sincere exchange of experiences and views. In this way we can help to advance the good work done by our universities. This is a vital necessity as in the future all our countries will need an ever-increasing number of well-educated citizens to maintain and raise the standard of material and cultural life.

STUDY REFORM AND PERMANENT EDUCATION

by Professor E. A. van TROTSENBURG,
Klagenfurt.

Diagnoses have been made. Various proposals have been put forward in earlier discussions. Now is the time to switch the points, bearing in mind that even the most trivial measures imply prior judgment. Ours is in favour of progress "from mass to universal higher education". It was Martin Trow who gave us a brilliant analysis of this transition, which requires radical decisions, possibly uprooting our old and still carefully nurtured ideas on the university.

We can soften the impact of these decisions — but we must then pay the price, for tertiary education is at present heading for utter chaos. We will not settle the matter of permanent education by making a few openings for post-graduate training in the new higher education acts, or by up-grading advanced vocational training. We need courage for decisions on matters of principle.

I am in favour of fundamental decisions expressed in a variety of specific small-scale experiments. I consider these *small-scale experiments* to be necessary because it is our preconceived values and attitudes that prevent us from thinking in modern terms. The reorientation we need in order to do so should be achieved through a well planned series of small scale experiments. Opportunities for experiments of this kind have been written into some of our recent higher education acts.

For you, who must share in the responsibility for the future pattern of our education system, these experimental clauses should be an essential prerequisite for work that will point the way for the future.

I start out from much the same position as Taylor. I see *permanent education as an educational strategy rather than a particular institution*. Otherwise, quite apart from the danger that distant study institutes, for instance, or institutes of adult education, might designate themselves the agents of permanent education, we would be failing to recognise the dynamic nature of the concept.

When we turn to the matter of harmonisation of initial and permanent education, we are already taking for granted more than we actually have. The experiments already conducted towards what is termed "permanent education" hardly yield scope for harmonisation (up-dating courses might actually run counter to the concept of permanent education). Signs of chaos can already be seen. Nor do developments in our universities and institutes of higher education meet this need for harmonisation. Perhaps the concept of the university as a collection of working parties in which teachers and students co-operate — i.e. an academic community — holds greater hope of harmonisation than the more school-like university of today.

Curriculum development in the universities, with the search for clear objectives and balanced courses, has made the direction clearer, but has also tended towards compartmentalisation. Curriculum reform in the universities is still in its early stages and has therefore hardly yet produced curricula

that may be applied in a given field in a number of universities.

My problem lies in the fact that the more school like university of today inhibits rather than encourages the development of a "*university community in an open society*" (Friedenberg). The issues we are dealing with today are important — they have to do with life styles in the 1980s. But they will be hammered out in practice and not around the conference table. The strategy of change this implies calls for clarification of long-term objectives.

Long-term objectives

We have to realise that the mass invasion of the university and the transition from a closed to an open institution can never be achieved within the existing pattern of the university, a pattern not substantially altered even in most cases of university reform.

With unsuitable tools we are trying to solve the characteristic trend of higher education today, which leads to *universal higher education* — in the United States there is already talk of compulsory higher education. We all cherish the image of the university in which we ourselves were educated, and are therefore little inclined to accept the demands of the near future.

If we are seriously concerned about graduate unemployment, we ought to know that we ourselves have manufactured this unemployment by instilling in students and their future employers aims no longer in keeping with the development of society today.

Perhaps certain students are right when they only want to study and have no career ambitions. We are responsible for organising education which also serves this purpose, because we are reaching the stage when higher education will be taken for granted. We are not yet prepared for this stage, and react with inappropriate measures like restricting the number of students, etc.

We will have to learn that the post-industrial age needs a new social system. We do not know what the role of the university will then be, although there are already pointers. One of these is permanent education, which points in the direction of an *open university system.*

In institutionalising permanent education in a system of second and third alternative paths to education, we are, I feel, missing the point. There are a few academics who have tried to come to grips with the future role of the university. The trend has been set here by Liveright of the Centre for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults. His ideas about the university of the future may be a dream, but they include a number of points that we should bear in mind when considering harmonisation of initial education and permanent education. He says :

> "The responsibility of the university does not end with graduation. The research and teaching resources of the university will be applied to problems in the community as well as to programmes of continuing education. In carrying out these responsibilities the university will identify and make maximum use of existing resources of the community, instigating programmes itself only if they are especially appropriate to a university or can serve a germinal or demonstration purpose".

It is my view that harmonisation of initial and permanent education should work along these lines. This *merging of formal and non-formal education* has not been put into practice so far, although there have been interesting developments in this direction in the United States. But we should realise that by including permanent education in our discussions we have accepted the trend towards new styles of life and work. This is the beginning of an experiment in society. At this stage it seems more important to deal thoroughly with specific issues than to evolve, prematurely perhaps, a basic concept.

Specific issues

With the introduction of *short-cycle studies* I feel that the problem of introducing permanent education has been brought down to a practical scale. I should like to make the possibly controversial point that we should try to bring about a large number of short-cycle studies and substantially to cut down on long-cycle studies.

This does not fit the idea of the university still cherished by some people. But the facts speak for increasingly broad participation in higher education. A system of short-cycle studies would enable us to achieve the kind of flexibility in higher education that alone makes permanent education feasible. Moreover, modern educational research has shown that length and sheer quantity of education are no guarantee of quality. It is considerations of prestige that often outweigh other factors in discussions of this kind.

In my opinion, harmonisation of initial and permanent education should be achieved by means of

short-cycle studies. Short-cycle studies are a matter of structure, which may be distorted if such studies are envisaged only within the framework of university extension. The *units/credits system* is crucial to harmonisation of initial and permanent education. To my mind it is Sweden that has led the field here. Harmonisation requires objective assessment of studies, and this in turn implies a clear description of the various courses (aims, content, methods, assessment procedures).

I mentioned curriculum development in universities at the outset. I expressed the fear that the *newly created learning and teaching packages* would not always make for flexibility, since our curriculum work has tended to culminate in relatively self-contained projects.

The development of *modern educational technology* is an essential prerequisite for efforts to achieve harmonisation, because the compartmentalisation of individual educational fields is being broken down with the development of educational technology. I am thinking of the feasibility of learning and teaching packages in formerly separate fields and also of the increasing opportunities for individualisation.

By encouraging progress in educational technology — and I am here using the term in its widest sense, to include curriculum development — we are indirectly encouraging harmonisation of initial and permanent education. This presents one of the most favourable opportunities for European co-operation.

I have already stressed that permanent education does not fit in with our traditional picture of education and training. Its introduction implies structural reform. The change of outlook needed to achieve this can be developed only in *small-scale specific projects*. Let me give a few examples :

— Development of foundation courses at the university ;
— Post-graduate courses in co-operation with a distant study institute ;
— Development of courses according to the units/credits system.

Such projects should be based on :

— Co-operation between various educational institutions ;
— Development of software, including tests ;
— Supporting instruction, taking special account of socio-psychological factors ;
— Action research ;
— European co-operation.

Important requirements for such developments are :

— A comprehensive system of documentation ;
— Working parties of teachers ;
— Gradual development of a network of co-operating European institutes.

Conclusions

Under the heading of harmonisation of initial and permanent education I have tried to put forward a few ideas for discussion. I am afraid that permanent education may develop in the sense of "extension work", creating still greater distinctions and possibly giving the impression that there are already many alternative paths to education. The need for unity stressing permanent education as a strategy will not be achieved in this way. I am also afraid that the trend in post-graduate training may lead away from the universities because the universities may soon be unable to cope with these functions, being caught up in the cycle of growing numbers of students — with universities becoming ever more another type of school.

None of these trends would be so frightening if these questions did not also concern the future direction of our post-industrial society.

POST-SCHOOL, RECURRENT AND HIGHER EDUCATION PROPOSALS FOR AN OVERALL REFORM

by Professor F. EDDING,
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Critical review of present developments

Higher education has been expanding rapidly everywhere for a long time, and it seems to be widely accepted that this expansion will somehow go on. Western Europe has seen a tripling of enrolment in higher education since the middle of the fifties. If this expansion continues at the present rate, we shall have 50 % of the 20-24 age group in institutions of higher education before the end of this century.

Enrolment in the traditional institutions of higher education means living and learning for some years in a secluded environment built and maintained to serve all the recognised needs of students, teachers and researchers. Given this pattern will continue costs per student are likely to follow at least the GNP growth rate per person employed. Assuming continued expansion of enrolment, the proportion of higher education expenditure in the GNP would then multiply and by the end of this century become bigger than the share taken at present by all formal education.

At the same time pre-school and school education will require strongly increasing funds, and further education in its various forms will also demand large resources. Together with the enormous claims to be expected from other fields of public responsibility, particularly for better environmental conditions of living, the burden on public finance will become much heavier than today. The difficulties in the financing of higher education that we observe at present, therefore, are likely to increase considerably and will become a major constraining factor in higher education development.

Another serious tension will be caused by the contradiction between the principle of equal opportunity and the privilege given to a minority in the form of a few years enrolment in higher education. Enrolment in higher education is desired by fast increasing numbers as a value in itself, and as the way opening up the best chances for attractive careers and high social status. Partly because of the high costs, partly in order to protect quality standards, but increasingly also because of the assumed limited absorption capacity of the academic labour market, the constraints placed upon future expansion of higher education are likely to become more severe.

However, if applications for enrolment in higher education are turned down in growing numbers, we shall have a permanent source of political conflict. If, in order to avoid this, higher education enrolment and graduation are allowed to increase as in the recent past, we shall have a permanent source of financial crisis and probably, in addition, a serious problem of imbalance between career expectations of and demand for academically qualified personnel. There is also a danger that politicians looking for the easiest way out of this dilemma will try to solve the problem on the back of those who are on the "low" side of education, those who have suffered for a long time already from the priority given to the "high" forms of education. Social polarisation is likely to become extremely pronounced in such a situation.

Inequality of opportunity seems to be a characteristic feature of higher education in Western Europe, even where open access is proclaimed to be an essential goal. European higher education has in reality up to this day never been designed to give everybody a chance. In this sense equal opportunity is not recognised as a goal for higher education in Europe. To serve a minority, born in the upper class or carefully selected to become a member of this class, that was the traditional function of higher education. Under various social pressures and in view of the growing demand for highly qualified personnel, enrolment ratios have risen and are expected to rise further. But even in the richest countries of Europe the long-range planning does not envisage universality of higher education. Mass higher education, i.e. enrolment in more than 40 %-50 % of the relevant age group, is foreseen as unavoidable, necessary or desirable. The basic design, however, remains : higher education has to serve a selected group.

Screening and selection are seen as essential functions of higher education institutions. Those who are accepted, and still more those who graduate, consider themselves as belonging to an elite or at least a privileged group in society. They have the

privilege of a long period for general personal development and intellectual enrichment, protected from the pressures of earning an income. Higher education is also offering to those who are selected a preparation for certain fields of vocational activity. Graduates from higher education expect a career guaranteeing an income and a social status distinctly above the average.

Those who are selected will be given privileged attention. The others are of no concern to higher education. Higher education considered from this point of view is not a level or system of education following school education and serving in principle all the post-school education needs. That everybody should have a real chance to continue education for some years beyond the compulsory school in various secondary level institutions is a widely accepted goal. For this phase of adolescence it is generally planned to offer everybody some way of pursuing continued systematic learning according to individual ability and demand. The same does not apply to the phase beyond secondary school. But is there any valid reason for limiting the application of the equality principle to school years?

The answer often is that only a minority can make good use of educational beyond secondary school. There is no reliable verification for this hypothesis. But there is much evidence that the dominant patterns of higher education discriminate against certain types of ability and preferences. Higher education has a strong tradition in favour of certain "academic" values and scholarly attitudes. Even today it is mainly seen as the place for the "pure" sciences. To seek knowledge for the sake of knowledge, disinterested enquiry, highly abstract thinking and language, some contempt for the application of knowledge and for "practical" work in general, these are characteristic attitudes regarded widely as reflecting the true spirit of higher education and necessary to keep up standards. Higher education is geared to research and research seems to require qualities of this kind. But can they be expected to become general qualities?

Even if it were true that only the less able and the handicapped are excluded from higher education who can say that these in some ways intellectually weaker members of society would not profit from educational programmes designed to meet their needs? *Equality of opportunity does not mean offering everybody the same; it requires giving everybody his individual chance.* Post-school education in Western Europe is still concentrating on the traditional selective institutions of higher education. Those not accepted by the "high" institutions are given to understand that for them little can be done in the way of educational offerings. They also have to accept that they have little chance of promotion to the more attractive positions or occupations and that their social status will remain inferior all their lifetime.

This has two consequences. On the one hand, it increases the demand for places in the "high" institutions and the proportion of students who are not really interested in the ways of learning offered by higher education. This tendency is felt already at the secondary level, where young people push against their true motivation and follow the more academic tracks.

The dominance of educational values set by higher education increases, on the other hand, the polarisation between the "haves" and "have nots". Obviously selection for courses of different levels is necessary. Selection for responsible positions is necessary as well. But selection for higher education should not prevent strong efforts from being made for other post-school programmes of education, and selection for responsible positions in employment should not be linked with higher education in the way it is now in Western Europe. Both clearly are in contrast with the principle of equal opportunity.

The strong link between graduation from higher education and career chances is channelling ever-growing proportions of young people into higher education institutions. This is probably contrary to the true preferences of large numbers, who dislike the highly abstract thinking and the "bookish" way of learning, but dislike even more to remain on the "low" side. The presence of these only partly interested students is often deplored because it disturbs the spirit of an academic community. This is certainly true. However, one should also consider the situation of the many young people who do not like the academic spirit but are practically compelled by an obsolete system to go the academic way of education. They are not offered their individual and adequate chance.

The introduction of formal education in schools was one of the great inventions of mankind. The probability is that *the school as an archetype of social organisation will have a long life.* Schools are needed as organisations where people are protected from influences which prevent them from succeeding in certain ways of learning. To retire for long periods from activities, pleasures and pressures dominant in other spheres of life can be considered as a condition for numerous learning tasks requiring, for instance, high efforts of concentration, high level of abstraction, understanding of complex systems, structuring of a multitude of

facts and thoughts. The hypothesis is that certain learning processes of this kind can only be optimised in schools in a particular learning situation characterised by a spirit of detachment, by the availability of professional teachers and by particular group relations. Schools in this sense cannot be substituted by other organisations.

But any good idea can be exaggerated. *If to go to school becomes the main occupation for twenty years*, this does not seem to be the optimal way to develop the personality. This has been discussed for some time now under the heading of "deschooling". Applied to higher education the deschooling argument points out that efficiency of learning is poor if it cannot be related to personal experience. Persons living from 5 to 25 years of age mainly in some kind of school have not enough experience to motivate them for problem-solving learning. This may explain much of the passivity, frustration and protest to be observed among students. But growing numbers continue to press for the long courses of study because they have reason to believe that this will improve their career chances.

Other students value the long courses for their length. They want the many years of higher education as a phase of life protected from the pressures of economically gainful activities and from exploitation in jobs they despise. They feel that after graduation from secondary school they need a long period of participation in the search for understanding, for self-identification and for independent personal development under conditions that only higher education institutions can offer.

But the educational effect of staying in school far into the twenties seems doubtful in any case. *Students leaving the protected seclusion of school late in life have missed essential experience*, and they also have missed the chance to reflect systematically on these experiences. Last but not least they miss the confidence gained by earning an income : *they are dependent long after they have come legaly of age.*

Another feature of the stay-in-school syndrome is the ignorance of conditions and tasks in the field of gainful employment. Individual decisions concerning the choice of some field of occupational activity are finally unavoidable. But under present conditions they are often rather blind choices. Personal preferences are not founded in practical knowledge, and advice based on predictions of manpower needs is hardly reliable. For the long courses of study in particular the choices made in the light of future market opportunities become increasingly an incalculable risk.

The long higher education courses became tradition at a time when it seemed reasonable to concentrate formal learning in the period of youth. But they are no longer reasonable in a world characterised by dynamic development. If knowledge and skills become swiftly obsolescent, the argument against staying in school as long as possible and for recurrent learning becomes strong.

There may be now around 5 % of the Western European labour force in positions requiring, among other qualifications, the kind of education provided by higher education. If the inflow of graduates from higher education continues to increase as in recent years, this proportion will certainly go up. *The absorption capacity of the occupation system for graduates* from higher education certainly is not exhausted. Partial imbalances and frictions, however, are already evident. They raise as yet no really grave difficulties but there is, of course, an absorption problem. We could have some day 30 % or even 50 % of the relevant age group in higher education and we would benefit greatly from an even larger portion of the population being highly educated, competent to understand and handle all kinds of problems, willing and trained to co-operate, able to enjoy a cultured life. But we can certainly never have such proportions of the labour force in positions corresponding to the still prevailing expectations of those who strive for a higher education degree as an entrance ticket for high social status and income. It is a contradiction in itself to expect privileged positions for a large proportion of the active population. The university practically guaranteeing its graduates such positions belongs to a society which is vanishing quickly. In the near future growing numbers of graduates from higher education will be forced to sell their services far under the "price" they expect.

Main directions of a reform strategy

In view of the shortcomings of present higher education developments, many planners agree that the problems cannot be solved satisfactorily inside the system of higher education institutions. They propose an overall reform of the education system, shifting the weight of systematic learning from the period of youth into adult life and giving more importance to learning outside institutions of education. These reform plans go under the general heading "Recurrent education".

The term "Recurrent education" as used in this

paper implies a thorough restructuring of the traditional system of education and the planned participation of other subsystems in educational intentions. This understanding of the term differs from other concepts of recurrent education, planning only additions to the traditional system during adult life. Our concept has a deschooling tendency. The type of organised learning called "school" should be developed so as to bring out best its specific potential. But more and better education cannot be had by simply expanding schools. Schools have a monopolistic tendency. They are occupying too much of young people's time and they are overdrawing their power in the allocation of life chances.

Recurrent education intends to make the importance of school more relative and to develop new combinations of learning situations by bringing to bear the educational potential of other institutions, situations and roles. There are learning processes which can best be furthered in agencies near the sphere of production, of organisation, of social services. The educational potential of such agencies has specific qualities that school cannot replace. Planned alternating and commuting between learning situations offered in schools and in non-school activities should become the rule. In economic terms this means that the educational inputs of various agencies should be planned and mixed in such a way that the total relation between costs and benefits is optimised.

Recurrent education understood in this sense calls for *incisive changes of the curricula and it calls for the intensive co-operation of agencies outside the system of institutions whose main function is education*. Recurrent education has been seen by many planners as a distribution of periods of organised learning over the whole life-span. Here we propose not only to plan these periods of systematic learning but also to give life between these periods as much an educational function as possible. This has far-reaching political implications. Many agencies, in particular in private business, so far care very little, if at all, about the educational effects of their activities. Some firms do much to further vocational training. But they are a minority. Strong resistance is to be expected if agencies now outside the system of education are asked to participate regularly in a concerted action ensuring the permanence and effectiveness of planned education. Regular leave for full-time learning will not be achieved easily. Participation in permanent education by organising courses, employing personnel for advice and instruction, finally the reorganisation of work so that it has an educational effect by itself or motivates for education, these are certainly postulates demanding a major change in the understanding of their role on the part of agencies whose main purpose is not education. But this seems to be the consequence of thinking about the future. We need more and better education, but if the traditional institutions alone are charged with this task, we are running a big risk of failure.

At present the individual desire to get a good education can be fulfilled only along the way up to the academic diploma. So strong is the dominance of this pattern that increasing parts of secondary education are oriented towards the "high" sector of post-school education. It is necessary to break this identification of good education with academic education. In order to achieve this, certain certification links with career and status have to be abolished. On the other hand, it is necessary to revalue the non-academic kinds of education. In particular, vocational education needs to be developed to a quality and a standing which make it attractive to those who want a good education but are not fascinated by largely theoretical work. Vocational education must be freed from the narrowness of mere skill training and from the dead-end character it often has. We know from curricular research that the key qualifications constituting the core of a good general education (e.g. knowing how to learn, critical thinking, creativity) can be developed just as well, perhaps even better within the preparation for a field of vocational activity as in preparing for a period of academic study in higher education. The present sharp separation of vocational and general education has no valid base in theory and must be abolished. There will be courses of the highest as well as of lower requirements in both the more vocation-oriented and in the non-vocational education.

A programme of reform should be centred on five main purposes :

— to revalorise vocational education,

— to spread intervals of systematic learning over the span of life,

— to activate the educational potential of learning by doing,

— to develop the various institutions of post-school education including higher education to their specific optimum,

— to break the identification of a good education with academic degrees and privileged positions.

Design for a programme of reform measures

Based on the critical views of developments in higher education, and on the general directives for a reform strategy, some more concrete measures for a restructuring of post-compulsory education are proposed in the following.

Beyond the compulsory school, educational institutions of rich diversity in the form of secondary schools of practical work with educational intention are offered for choice. The non-school institutions comprise part-time apprenticeship and guided practical work, combined with courses. This initial phase of youth education will end with the legal coming of age.

The preparation for a field of vocational work assisted by orientation in out-of-school activities will be the core of the curricula at the upper secondary school. It will determine the shape of general education and qualify school graduates to take up an occupation immediately after school. Coming of age will then coincide with the beginning of economic independence. No graduate from school will be "forced" to continue in higher education because he is not prepared for vocational work.

All vocational training and practical work for persons under 20 years will be combined with general education. Agencies offering such training and work need accreditation under public law. Public supervision will ensure that courses offered by private establishments are qualitatively equal to those offered by public secondary schools, so that pressure for public secondary schools is not supported by evidence of their better quality.

Admission to institutions of post-school education is possible only after two years of gainful employment. All employers are called upon to make these initial years of vocational activity meaningful in view of a career.

Everybody is guaranteed by law the right to recurrent intervals of full-time post-school education totalling a minimum of three years and corresponding paid leave of absence.

Curricula in post-school education are as for as possible organised in compact units (modules) of two to three months for full-time students and correspondingly longer units for part-time students. These units can be combined in various sequences (*Baukastensystem*). They will ensure vertical and horizontal mobility of students inside and between institutions.

Leave of absence under the public education unit/credit system will as a rule not exceed three months at a time. Accumulation for a longer leave is possible as an exception. Employers may grant leave for extra courses. Awards may take the form of extra leave for learning purposes.

During the periods between full-time absence, part-time learning during and outside working hours is offered. Assistance is given by radio and television, by private firms, administrations, trade unions, churches, health institutions, armed forces, etc., so as to ensure permanence of educational offerings.

Programmed learning diffused by various media is offered under public quality control. Institutions following the example of the Open University in the United Kingdom will advance the combined use of modern media and tutorial circles.

Publicly supported information centres, guidance and tutorial services will be available everywhere. Regional planning will ensure the availability of a large range of courses in all communities by distributing the location of public post-school institutions of education according to population density and commuting distance, and by encouraging other agencies to contribute to the programme of courses and to make facilities available.

All courses or units are offered on various levels. The organisers of courses including the universities, colleges, academies and other institutions of post-school education have the right to decide for which course they accept the applicant. They will base their decision mainly on qualifications proved in former courses. If they feel that they cannot offer any suitable course, they will advise the applicant where to go or where to get public guidance. There will be no dead-ends.

Career patterns in the occupation system are changed by law in such a way that the *traditional link between academic degree and hierarchical status is dissolved*. Beyond the minimum payment for beginners incomes are regulated according to function. Certificates from educational institutions are necessary for functional qualification but qualities proved on the job have more importance for promotion.

Professional diplomas, where they are needed, are awarded by committees on which the State, the profession and the competent institution of post-school education are represented. Diplomas are awarded only after several years of practice, and performance on the job will have at least as much importance for the decision of the committee as the certificates from educational institutions.

There will be no academic examination awarding global diplomas. At the end of each compact course and course sequence participants have to pass a specific examination. The results of this examination, together with an evaluation of the participants' co-operative behaviour in the course, form the basis of a written statement or certificate describing qualities and performance. Doctoral degrees will be awarded only to those seeking a career in research. The procedure will be similar to that used for professional diplomas.

Curricula are devised so as to make numerous combinations of courses or standardised units possible. Everybody is free to combine courses as he wishes. But for reasons of comparability and feasibility the scheme as a whole will be structured by a restricted number of course combinations. Those who want a certificate for a sequence of courses have to make their choice among these prescribed core combinations. Based on a recurrent analysis of demands in the occupation system, these core combinations will be designed so as to prepare for tasks in various vocational fields. All vocational courses should be planned to have high transfer effects for general education and to give an understanding of the broad context of special knowledge. Non-vocational courses in the humanities are a compulsory component of the prescribed core combinations.

Educational courses can be offered by all agencies accredited for this purpose and willing to accept public quality control.

All problems of accreditation of educational institutions, of quality control, of financial allocation, of division of tasks between institutions, of procedures in local and regional co-operation, of decisions in questionable cases of educational leave applications are regulated by committees on which the State, the educational institutions, the employers' associations and the trade unions are represented. These committees operate at national, regional and local level. They are institutions under public law.

All public institutions of education are financed out of the State budget. All accredited institutions and the costs caused by educational leave of absence are financed out of funds under public law and under control of the above-described committees. All private agencies, in particular business firms, are supposed to provide training facilities which are of direct use for their own purposes. These facilities, however, will be financed by the respective firms individually or collectively.

Funds for the financing of accredited education and of the costs caused by educational leave of absence are raised by means of general levies from business and by State subsidies. The potential course participants contribute mainly indirectly to these funds via the prices of all goods and services they need and via general taxes.

Some consequences for the future of higher education

In the view of the author the measures proposed in this paper indicate a way to restructure post-compulsory education according to general principles of social democracy, and to free higher education institutions from the menaces of present developments.

The task of education beyond school would be divided more adequately between educational institutions, and also between these institutions and non-educational agencies. There would be firms and organisations providing courses for their immediate needs. There would be institutions offering programmes to satisfy the simpler requirements of refresher courses in skills, language and other knowledge, and programmes for retraining and for additions to the range of competences. A large part of the task of certifying special vocational competence, now often fulfilled by higher education institutions, could be passed on to other agencies.

The institutions of higher education as they exist at present would in all probability survive and some of them would continue to grow. But growth would not follow the trend observed in the last 20 years. Higher education institutions would not have to cope with the task of doubling and tripling the number of places again within the next 20 years. Once the degree system is abandoned and various alternatives for recurrent education are available, demand for places in higher education will slow down. Freed from the enormous pressure of fast expansion the higher education institutions will be in a position to prepare a development designed to bring out their special potential which may be seen in the provision of courses of high requirements in connection with research.

Higher education will profit from the new mixture of "generations" of students caused by the general introduction of recurrent education and from the motivation brought in by students with extensive experience outside of schools. The change from the old pattern of having first all the theory and then all the practice to the new scheme of alternating between practice and theory will increase the motivation and efficiency of learning.

Higher education institutions would co-operate locally and regionally with other institutions of post-school education, but there would be no need to seek integration of all these institutions. Each type of institution would try to develop its potential for a specific task. Co-ordination would serve the purpose of rationalisation, for instance by ensuring common use of expensive facilities, and it would serve the mobility of students between institutions through curricula allowing one unit to be taken in one institution and the next unit of a sequence in another.

Higher education institutions would in such a system be reduced to a component in post-school education of equal rank with other institutions. There will be probably a hierarchy of courses, but not necessarily of institutions. The differences will come from the quality requirements of courses, and all institutions will be challenged to have some courses of the highest standard. There will be perhaps more competition with other public institutions on this level and also with institutions set up by private agencies. But more competition might be useful. Together with the inflow of more mature students it can help higher education institutions to become livelier than they are now.

The concept of reform discussed in this paper promises to overcome the main deficiencies of present higher education mentioned in the introduction. There is a long way to go before such a reform can be completed. The first step is the conceptual discussion. Are there other possible solutions to the problems before us? Which consequences can be foreseen in detail for higher education institutions, for the relations with the occupation system and for the functioning of education as a sub-system of society? Much research and much experimentation is needed to verify the hypotheses underlying the reform concept proposed here. But research should not be used as an alibi for postponing decisions to the next decade.

Some steps seem possible in the near future. The author recommends that efforts be concentrated during the next years on the setting up of a fund system, the working out of curricula for recurrent education, and the abolition of the degree system in connection with the introduction of new career patterns. In order to prepare political decisions, national committees should be set up to analyse the situation in the field of reforms here proposed and to develop programmes of action. These committees should be assisted by competent staffs of analysts and planners.

The research and planning needed would profit from co-operation between countries moving in the same direction. It seems appropriate that the competent supra-national organisations should take the initiative for a joint effort.

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